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THE  
**QUARTERLY REVIEW.**

No. 431. APRIL, 1912.

1. THE YOUNGER PITT. By C. Grant Robertson.
2. BEAU NASH AND BATH.
3. THE ELIZABETHAN AGE IN RECENT LITERARY HISTORY. By Prof. Herford.
4. CAVOUR AND THE MAKING OF ITALY. By J. A. R. Marriott.
5. THE ST LAWRENCE. By Col. Wood (of Quebec).
6. THACKERAY AND THE ENGLISH NOVEL. By J. C. Bailey.
7. AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AND LANDLORDS. By R. E. Prothero.
8. JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.
9. THE WONDERFUL ADVENTURES OF DR COOK.
10. GARDEN CITIES, HOUSING, AND TOWN PLANNING. By Henry Vivian.
11. THE FACE OF THE EARTH. By Rev. Prof. Bonney.
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13. THE COAL STRIKE. By Sir Arthur B. Markham, M.P.
14. THE CHURCH IN WALES.

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## GENERAL INDEX TO THE QUARTERLY REVIEW.

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2. *William Pitt and National Revival. William Pitt and the Great War*. By J. Holland Rose. London: Bell, 1911.
3. *British Statesmen of the Great War*. By the Hon. J. W. Fortescue. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911.
4. *The Political History of England*. Edited by W. Hunt and R. L. Poole. Vol. x, 1760-1801. By William Hunt. London: Longmans, 1905.
5. *England under the Hanoverians*. By C. Grant Robertson, M.A. (Vol. VI of a History of England edited by Prof. C. W. Oman.) London: Methuen, 1911.
6. *Le Directoire et La Paix de l'Europe (1795-1799)*. By R. Guyot. Paris: Alcan, 1911.
7. *The Manuscripts of J. B. Fortescue, preserved at Dropmore*. Historical Manuscripts Commission, Thirteenth Report. Vols I-VII. 1892-1910.

It is very nearly fifty years since the appearance of Lord Stanhope's *Life of the Younger Pitt* was marked by an article in this Review from the pen of a writer, himself destined to lead Pitt's party, hold Pitt's office of Prime Minister, and direct the foreign policy of our country during critical phases. The late Lord Salisbury's lengthy study of what Dr Rose calls 'a monumental work,' and Mr Fortescue, with more contempt than justice, terms 'four watery volumes,' has a literary and political interest of its own; but a comparison of its treatment of the problems and issues of Pitt's career with the books at the head of this article brings out very clearly the

immense addition to our knowledge in the last half century and the more critical temper of the scholar of to-day. M. Guyot's volume, for example, shows that, if foreign savants and archivists have re-written the history of the leading European States, the sources are not yet exhausted nor the verdicts of a Sorel, a Masson, a Fournier, a Philipson or a Hüffer yet accepted as final; while the special contributions to Irish and British, naval, military and economic history of Mr Lecky, Captain Mahan, Mr Fortescue, Mr and Mrs Webb, and Prof. Cunningham are being continuously supplemented and revised by the discovery of documentary material unknown to or not touched by Lord Stanhope, or Ersine May, whose 'Constitutional History' dates from the same year. Old controversies have taken new forms, and new controversies have arisen on points regarded as settled by Stanhope's generation. Happily too to-day we are freed alike from the fetters of the Pontiffs of Holland House, whose infallibility the genius of Macaulay made an article of faith, and from burying with Canning and Lord Stanhope our political allegiance in the grave of the Master.

In the list of these new and original materials, which includes such important sources as Auckland's Diary and Correspondence, the Wyvill Papers, Windham's Diary, the Creevey Papers and the Journals of Lady Holland, the Dropmore Papers stand without a rival. On the lives of Pitt and Grenville this wonderful collection has lifted the curtain; and, as M. Guyot is well aware, in these precious pages we can trace the genesis and development of important political measures at home and abroad, and the motives, fears and hopes of two of the great Triumvirate in Pitt's Cabinet. So far the third Triumvir, Henry Dundas, has remained shrouded in a protective obscurity; but, when the Arniston archives have yielded their harvest too, the evidence will be pretty complete.

Modern scholars accordingly are steadily endeavouring to codify the most recent results of research in accessible works of reasonable compass. In the admirably planned 'Political History of England,' Dr Hunt, who shares the general editorship with Dr Poole, is able to devote a whole volume to the period from the accession of



George III to the Legislative Union with Ireland, and to provide a critical narrative based throughout on a faithful and learned collation of the new with the old material. Those who are deep in Dr Hunt's debt may perhaps be permitted a presumptuous wish to cross swords with him over this or that interpretation of character or motive, or this or that judgment of a policy or transaction, without impairing their respect for his knowledge and fairness or his capacity to furnish the student with a clear and scholarly presentation of the controversial issues as well as of the achievements which make Pitt's epoch inexhaustible in its appeal. And Dr Hunt would be the first to admit that the younger Pitt deserves on every ground more comprehensive re-examination than can be allotted even in the most excellent of general histories, and that the time has come for a new biography. Fortunately Dr Holland Rose has saved British scholarship from the reproach of allowing the duty and the honour to fall to German erudition. Prof. Salomon's *Life of Pitt* promises to be a very valuable contribution to the subject, for it is based on a painstaking and impartial investigation of our archives, but so far the story has only reached the momentous year 1793; if the second volume is as thorough, as critical and as clear as the first, Prof. Salomon will have earned the sincere gratitude of British students, and we hope that his work will soon be available in an English translation.

That Pitt's own university of Cambridge should provide a successor to Lord Stanhope is peculiarly appropriate; and Dr Rose's two solid volumes are undoubtedly happy in the opportunity of their birth. As the biographer of Napoleon, Dr Rose has studied European history with breadth and thoroughness; and he has supplemented his researches on Pitt's life in the British Museum and the Record Office by valuable material drawn from private papers and collections, notably the Pitt MSS. (now in our national archives), the MSS. preserved at Chevening and Orwell Park, and others of less importance noted in the Preface. If, as Bagehot pregnantly remarked, the chief difficulty of historical investigators and of posterity lies, not in pronouncing judgment on the results of a policy, which is always easy,

but in truly understanding the problem which that policy was devised to solve, we cannot have too much help from the industry of unwearied erudition. Dr Rose has done an indispensable service in collecting and testing the evidence necessary for understanding and judging Pitt's statecraft; and, as a piece of research, his biography merits and will command the unstinted respect of every serious student.

But the biographer of a great statesman admittedly requires first-rate intellectual power as well as learning. Biography is a criticism of life; and on the range and depth of the biographer's knowledge of life depend his insight into personality and his judgment of great affairs. Viewed as a contribution to biography and literature and not simply as a contribution to knowledge, Dr Rose's book falls short of the ideal. Neither its construction nor its execution quite satisfies the rigorous tests which we are bound to apply. The book is too long and loaded for a biography pure and simple, which it professes to be; it is not long enough and is too disproportioned for a general history of the epoch. The allotment of space, indeed, suggests that the writer has worked primarily with reference to, and been dominated by, the results of his researches. The numerous episodes on which his investigations have yielded new and important light are allowed to overshadow those where he has not been so fortunate. In an organic and artistic biography the size of the canvas and the character of the background never invite more attention than the central figure. Too often in Dr Rose's pages we are encouraged to forget the actor and concentrate on the scenery. As with Seeley's book on Stein, unity is lost in diversity. Nor is this defect redeemed by any excellence of literary technique. A passage may, perhaps, be cited:

'The lives of English statesmen have very rarely, if ever, been enervated by that excessive zeal for education which the great German thinker discerned as a possible danger for his fellow-countrymen. Certainly to those who had drunk deep of the learning of Leipzig, Heidelberg or Göttingen, the transference to a Staats-Secretariat at Weimar, Cassel, or even at Berlin, must have been a life of sheer drudgery. Doubtless, the *doctrinaire* policy of many a Continental State sprang from the persistent attempts of some Pegasus in

harness to rise again to the serene heights of his youthful contemplations. In England our youths did not meditate on the science of politics. Both Oxford and Cambridge displayed a maternal care lest the brains of the rising generation should overtax the bodies; and never was the unsullied spring of Helicon ruffled by draughts taken under compulsion' (i, 63).

Dr Rose's style to one reader at least seems stiff, sometimes involved, too often laboured and flat; it is unpleasantly marred by idiosyncrasies, infelicities and periphrases that savour of journalistic English. We miss in these twelve hundred pages the ease, colour, charm and power that such a theme imperatively demands; we miss the mental atmosphere, the distinction of phrase and thought which reveal a first-rate mind. In a word, we fear that the biography of the younger Pitt which will add a classic to our shelves, the happy combination of knowledge, literature and intellectual power of the first order, has yet to be written.

What permanent impression, we may well ask, of Pitt's statesmanship as a whole do we gain, after collating all Dr Rose has to tell us with other sources and authorities? Does he stand higher or lower in our estimation when we test his career by the scrutiny of modern knowledge? Any general verdict will certainly be debatable, but no one can study Dr Rose's careful and balanced judgments without feeling that the most recent biographer of Pitt is far more critical, far more disposed to admit readily mistakes, even blunders, shortcomings and limitations in Pitt than was the case with contemporary admirers or Lord Stanhope. The unqualified panegyrist indeed will often find cold comfort in Dr Rose's pages; and the material set out will cause obstinate searchings of heart and the revision of many settled judgments in more than one phase of the statesman's career.

It is indeed regrettable that for all Dr Rose's researches into the nooks, crannies and byways of documentary sources the new light on the man himself is disappointingly small. Pitt's character and personality have always been, and will, we fear, continue to be, a fascinating enigma. Why did he drink so much, why was he so recklessly extravagant, why had he so few friends, why did he not marry? This last question indeed seems to haunt the

refined, charming and high-bred face of Eleanor Eden; and all that we can despairingly infer from a stilted letter is that apparently there was an insuperable obstacle. What the obstacle was, whether it was really insuperable, and why Pitt did not discover it until the eleventh hour we do not know and probably never shall know. And so it is with all his inner life; we get a rare flash, a provoking glimpse, a sentence in a diary (such as Wilberforce's 'Pitt does not make friends'), a savage growl as with Creevey, or a baffled wail as in so many of his colleagues' letters; and the rest is silence. Rightly or wrongly we are driven to pronounce that an increasing and petrifying loneliness, commencing with childhood and burnt into his fibres when Chatham died, is the dominating and self-chosen feature of his life. Alone, always alone, when all round him were able men eager for the privilege of his intimacy, and women, as Hester Stanhope and Eleanor Eden prove, proud to serve. In the galaxy of our great statesmen is there one beside Pitt in whose career women, not even excepting his mother, have played so insignificant, so negligible and so regrettably small a part? We read, it is true, that after 1801 he took his niece to parties in London. Among all the chaperons who have counted the hours while youth and beauty are teaching love a measure, the grey-robed night and the rosy-fingered dawn can never have shed their kindly pity on a lonelier figure than on the gaunt ex-Prime Minister waiting so patiently for his madcap Hester. What were his thoughts? Had night and the rosy-fingered dawn ever bidden him watch with beating heart for Eleanor Eden; had they ever whispered their intoxicating dreams as they had whispered to Burke, Warren Hastings, Mirabeau, Charles Fox, Wolfe Tone and the young Napoleon; or did the harbinger of another day simply gild a proud but weary memory of the crowded benches at St Stephen's, hushed for the chief to soar into the peroration that was the prelude to another triumphant division? We do not know.

This at least is certain. His experience of life was and remained astonishingly limited. From a sickly and jealously guarded boyhood he passed to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, and then in 1781, at the age of barely twenty-two, entered the House of Commons. At twenty-three he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Prime Minister

before he was twenty-five. For the next seventeen years he was immersed in state affairs. He was once in France for a few weeks, when he saw just what a brilliant young man, the heir to a great name and with the best of introductions, could see. But the France of Arthur Young, Turgot, Rochefoucauld and the young Danton he did not see. Two-thirds of England were unknown to him; he never set foot in Scotland or Ireland. Downing Street, Windsor, Bath, Putney, Wimbledon, Deal and half-a-dozen country houses sum up his life after 1783. In early manhood he belonged for a short time to Goosetree's Club; he met Gibbon and Adam Smith once; he drank and dined with a select few, but apparently did not go to theatres, operas, or the great salons of his party. Dr Rose notes that he did not come into touch with literary men, artists or original thinkers; that in his official patronage he neglected literature, science and the arts. Was he even a great worker? It has always been assumed that he was; but doubts suggest themselves. 'You know,' wrote Wilberforce, 'how difficult, I may say next to impossible it is to extract a line from Pitt.' Not once, as in the Fitzwilliam episode, but repeatedly his long silences, his failure to write the reply that urgency demanded, had the most serious results. What did he read during those years of office besides despatches, minutes and reports? How was his mind being fed? What nourishing or provocative ideas filtered in through the windows of Downing Street? Had he ever opened Cowper, Burns, Crabbe, Coleridge, Wordsworth, Bentham, Paine, Godwin, Malthus, Cartwright and the Radical pamphleteers? The scanty evidence suggests a negative. Certainly his inaccessibility to new ideas after 1790 is very notable. Is it surprising that his mind, living on the capital acquired before 1784, slowly closed and imperceptibly congealed, and that his humanity dried up with it?

Pitt became Prime Minister when his acquaintance with men, affairs and life was necessarily slender. It is at all times as difficult for a Prime Minister, absorbed in business and moving in a circle of congenial or submissive followers, to learn the truth and the disagreeable, as it is for a sovereign. And Pitt had none of the modern machinery to correct the information of paper reports, the optimism of office, or the drilled orthodoxy of officials,

He had no popular constituency to face, no party organisation in close touch with the electors and representatives of every class, and was under no necessity to explain and justify a great programme before mass meetings in every quarter of Great Britain. After 1783 he never fought an uphill battle with unpopularity and defeat as the mistresses of wisdom. His speeches outside Parliament can be counted on the fingers of one hand; within the House of Commons he spoke as the acknowledged chief from the Treasury Bench to legislators who practically represented one class alone. Of the elemental forces that mould appetite and master reason in the average man he was austere ignorant. He knew as little of the world of Almack's or of Mrs Jordan, Perdita Robinson and Lady Hamilton, as of the democratic clubs where Francis Place or Thomas Hardy held sway, of the 'doghole' of St Helen's, the reeking slums and the slavery of mine, factory and furnace which poisoned the gifts of Arkwright, Watt and Crawshaw to the new England of Pitt's maturity. There is a poignant and significant pathos in his confession, when he withdrew, at the first whisper of criticism, his Poor Relief Bill, that he knew little or nothing of the poor; for he only met the new industrial proletariat face to face when a starving crowd roared for bread, and rebel hands hurled stones at the Minister's carriage. Even Wilberforce, 'the Saint,' was struck with his ignorance of human nature, his sanguine estimate of men, his surprise and petulance at opposition, his despondency when opposition was successful.

What Dr Rose justly calls 'his besetting sin'—excess of confidence, an optimism that was a strange blend of belief in himself, a patriot's faith, and a doctrinaire's trust in the invincibility of abstract reason—dogged his career from the beginning to the end. For example, he was confident that he could carry Parliamentary Reform in 1785, that the Irish Concordat of the same year would go through, that Europe in 1790 was entering on a long period of peace, that he could compel Russia to give way in 1791, that the war with France would be a short one, that the Revolutionary Republic could not last, that the Roman Catholics could be emancipated, that 'there was every prospect after Amiens (1802) of enjoying a long peace,' that the Third Coalition would secure the alliance



of Prussia and crush Napoleon. In each case—and the list might be extended—forces and facts which he left out of his calculations combined to wreck his hopes. We may, if we please, say with Dr Rose, 'the *Zeitgeist* breathed against the plans of Pitt, and they were not.' Poor *Zeitgeist*! the most convenient of all scapegoats to bear the burdens of statesmanship and the unsolved difficulties of historians. But the uncomfortable reflection remains. Some statesmen succeed because they ally with the *Zeitgeist*; others fail because they ignore it or defy it. Into which class are we to put Pitt?

Yet Pitt's unique position in his generation is the outstanding fact which no evidence, new or old, has yet shaken. He repeats in a most remarkable way the mystery of Chatham's achievement. In both we can see, as acute contemporaries saw, irritating pettinesses, grave defects of temper, judgment and knowledge; we can wish, as they did, that the dross was less and the gold purer; we can even be baffled, as they were, by the inadequacy of the cause if contrasted with the undeniable effect. The historians' scrutiny of statesmanship invariably emphasises limitations in the masters of affairs, but in the arithmetic of political genius two and two seldom make four. Clearly there were in Pitt qualities of brain and personality which have evaporated from the documents. There was a 'Pitt touch' as there was a 'Chatham touch' and a 'Nelson touch.' The England that had lived through 1783, the Regency Bill and 1797, that had seen Addington on the Treasury Bench and Hawkesbury at the Foreign Office, was ready in 1804 to accept Grenville, Fox and Grey; but it was to the wasted son of Chatham, with death in his face, that its heart, allegiance and hopes went out. Nations are always teaching the historian the salutary lesson 'that there be grounds of confidence as of diffidence which lie not in proof.'

Dr Rose's first volume covers Pitt's career prior to the outbreak of the great war with revolutionary France. The narrative is told with a greater mastery of the sources than can be found in the work of any other British historian; but, on the whole, with a few notable exceptions, the verdicts expressed coincide with those of Dr Hunt and Prof. Salomon, and are eminently

favourable. That Pitt in the ten years from 1783 to 1793 accomplished a remarkable achievement, and had a conspicuous and perhaps a unique share in the astonishing national revival that followed the disasters of the American War, few would care to question. And this achievement, we cannot but remember, must be credited to a young man who, when he became Prime Minister in the autumn of 1783, had only the experience of a few months of office in Shelburne's ministry and the prestige of an immortal name at his command. The combination of Pitt's youth, inexperience and success is unparalleled in our political annals; and it is not surprising that the result dazzled judgments then and since. Contemporaries believed, and historians have too readily followed them in believing, that such a prodigy could not seriously fail and must always be right, even when facts point to the contrary. But Dr Rose thinks, and we are disposed to agree, that Pitt attained the zenith of his power in 1790. The failure to maintain the *status quo* in Europe through the Triple Alliance, the consequence of that failure (emphasised by Dr Rose) in the second dismemberment of Poland, which had such fatal results on the First Coalition, and the damaging Russian crisis which shook the stability of the Cabinet and left England once more isolated, were very grave set-backs to national progress and to Pitt's policy. And the moral they suggest is confirmed by preceding episodes and events, which furnish an instructive insight into the political and personal conditions under which Pitt worked, and the clearly-marked limitations in the principles of his political system both at home and abroad.

A bare list of the problems in this period (1783-1792) which Pitt was called upon to handle—finance, Ireland, India, Canada, the commercial treaty with France, the Dutch, Belgian and Baltic questions, the Triple Alliance and the Russo-Turkish War, Parliamentary Reform, the Slave Trade, the Regency Bill—is impressive; and the results seem to endorse the title of the Reform Period, which has passed into our history books. Dr Rose's phrase 'National Revival' is really more accurate, though we could wish he had raised and answered more explicitly the question, 'Was Pitt in any true sense a Reformer?' For both his measures and the degree of success achieved

convincingly suggest an answer in the negative. Pitt's foreign policy, opportunist, deliberate and sane, restored our prestige and place in the councils of Europe, and proved that Great Britain meant and was once more able to be a decisive element in the balance of power. But it introduced no new principles, nor was it inspired, except perhaps in the Treaty of 1786, by new and vivifying ideas; it accepted the old order and strove to preserve it intact against the revolutionary dynasticism of the Habsburgs, the historic ambition of the Bourbons, and the masked nationalism of Catherine II. The India Act was avowedly a compromise which extirpated some but by no means all administrative abuses, recognised the vested interests of the Company, and perpetuated the dualism set up by the Regulating Act. It certainly was not Fox's Bill; equally certainly it was not Chatham's imperial policy of 1765. In Ireland, after the failure of 1785, there was no reform either of the dangerous and unworkable governmental system embodied in the Acts of 1782 and 1783 or of the deep-seated and demoralising evils in the political and economic structure of that unhappy country. The Canada Act of 1791 betrayed no hint that Pitt had learnt the moral of the American War; and Dr Rose infers from his handling of the Australian convict question that he lacked 'the imperial imagination.' Even Pitt's financial measures,\* important and valuable as they proved to be, despite the effects of the Sinking Fund, were essentially administrative and fiscal, and were no fulfilment of the great programme of economic reform which Burke expounded and which would have made the system of George III and North impossible for the future. Pitt's failure to carry even the moderate scheme of parliamentary reform of 1785 and the Irish proposals of the same year are deeply significant in this connexion. We are driven, therefore, to two conclusions, first, that when Pitt diagnosed true reform as necessary he declined under pressure to insist on his diagnosis; secondly, that in most spheres of the national life he neither suggested a scheme nor recognised the necessity for organic reconstruction.

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\* It is remarkable that one of the most notable of these measures, the creation in 1787 of the modern Consolidated Fund, duly explained by Dr Hunt, is passed over both in his text and his index by Dr Rose.

This unquestionably was partly due to the conditions under which he exercised power. The sweeping victory at the General Election of 1784 gave the 'schoolboy' Prime Minister a 'national mandate' perhaps, but a vague and illusory one; for it left him in a precarious position unless he secured the consistent co-operation of the King and complete harmony in his Cabinet. In the issues of finance, India, Canada and foreign policy down to 1791, Pitt, the King and the Cabinet co-operated cordially on the whole. Pitt's policy in these matters accordingly went through without difficulty, national confidence was immensely strengthened, and the Minister's prestige correspondingly increased. But note what is revealed in other spheres of action. The insolent and damaging treachery of Thurlow, which cut at the root of Cabinet loyalty and solidarity, was not punished until 1792; the King and half the Cabinet were against parliamentary reform, and the ministerial majority promptly went against the Prime Minister; the Irish proposals were watered down to satisfy powerful English interests, with the result that they had to be withdrawn in Ireland, despite the 'influence' of the Castle; the abolition of the slave trade was really defeated by the King, half the Cabinet, and their willing ally, the House of Lords; the ultimatum to Russia revealed a serious split in the Cabinet, and, in Pitt's deliberate judgment, expressed 'with tears in his eyes' to Ewart, the certainty of a parliamentary defeat on the vote of credit if he persisted. In these and kindred affairs the Prime Minister yielded. The obvious yet illuminating inference is that he could only carry what King, Cabinet and ministerial majority permitted him to carry; and this powerful coalition was opposed to all organic reform. The crisis of the Regency Bill clinches the argument in a striking way. Both parties acted on the assumption that the Prince Regent would dismiss Pitt and put Fox into office; in short, that by a wave of the delegated sceptre the ministerial majority would be converted into a majority for Fox. Could there be a more eloquent tribute to the influence of the Crown, or a more suggestive commentary on the conditions under which Pitt conducted a National Revival? 'The sense of my people elsewhere than in the House of Commons' was not seriously considered; and

Pitt's decision to prepare for private life and practice at the Bar supports the conclusion that a dissolution would not have compelled the Prince, had he become Regent, to retain his father's Prime Minister.

Pitt therefore, from 1783 onwards, had, on more than one vital issue, a disagreeable choice between the policy without office and office without the policy. He chose the latter, to the increasing satisfaction of the governing class; but we know from Wilberforce and others that the sacrifice and the conditions were cruelly galling to his pride, his hopes and his independence. The parting of the ways came as early as 1785. The indispensable condition of comprehensive reforms was clearly a reformed legislature. Pitt had twice demonstrated the existing legislature to be 'not representative of the people of Great Britain' and the outcome of a vicious and corrupting system which 'had maintained in office a ministry [North's] that had worked ruin to the Empire.' After 1780 outside Westminster stood a new England with new political ideals; and every advance in the Industrial Revolution strengthened its claim to a share in the privileges and benefits of political power and emphasised the urgent case for a sane but organic reconstruction of the political machinery. The Poor Law had broken down; the criminal code was barbarous and futile; Nonconformists and Roman Catholics were disabled and penalised in political and civic rights; the land and game laws were the expression of an effete feudalism; municipal government was a corrupt sham; public education did not exist; our prisons were hot-beds of disease, immorality and injustice. But nothing was done; Pitt did not attempt to deal with these grave and menacing problems. The Libel Act of 1792, which partially freed the Press, came from Fox and the Opposition; and the unreformed Parliament steadily prevented the national Minister from entering into partnership with, and interpreting the needs of, the new England. Reform was impossible because 'the King's turnspit continued to be a member of Parliament;' and the King's turnspit justifiably feared 'reform,' quite as keenly as the King himself.

How far Pitt was convinced of the desirability and necessity of real and comprehensive reform is debatable. But in estimating his statesmanship in those golden years

from 1783 to 1793, before the red terror of the Revolution dominated the ruling class, the historian is obliged to record that there is no evidence that Pitt recognised the increasing danger to England and Ireland of doing nothing and permitting grave grievances to accumulate; and that he accepted and in many crucial cases concurred deliberately in the 'non possumus' of his party. Dr Rose holds, and we agree, that a great, indeed a matchless, opportunity was missed; but does not the blame lie as much with the Minister as with the system? England in those years might have been made invulnerable to every revolutionary peril; but most of her maladies were suppressed, not cured. While all that nursing and diet could accomplish was accomplished, surgery was forbidden; and Pitt, because he did not wish to be a surgeon, bowed to the veto. If England and Ireland suffered, Pitt himself suffered too. He was handcuffed henceforward by the unreformed Parliament. No less regrettable was the sterilising effect on his character and intellectual outlook. The Pitt of 1793 was not the Pitt of 1783. Disillusionment and defeat had, unknown perhaps to himself, done their fatal work. The Minister's faith had imperceptibly passed from the noble optimism which believes that all things are possible for a nation renewing its youth, to the official opportunism which hopes that to-morrow may be better than to-day.

After 1783 we are confronted broadly with three central themes of inexhaustible interest—Ireland, the policy of the war, and the conduct of the war—and Dr Rose handles them in a critical spirit and with an assured mastery of the sources. The conclusions in his Irish chapters do not differ fundamentally from those of Lecky and Dr Hunt, though perhaps he is less critical of Pitt than the former and more critical than the latter. The most controversial and difficult of the issues really lie in the years 1793 to 1798; both before and after that date the verdicts of most competent judges are distinctly tending to substantial agreement. The failure to carry the financial and commercial proposals of 1785 is in every way deeply to be regretted. The illusory concordat of 1783, expressed in the repeal of Poynings' Law and 6 Geo. I, c. 6, was unworkable; and Pitt's scheme might have been the



beginning of a new and beneficial system on the basis of which a new Ireland could have slowly arisen. Pitt clearly was disheartened after the unexpected rebuff of 1785; and his silence and lack of interest for the next eight years proved to be a grave mistake. The grievances remained untouched; the forces of opposition grew stronger and stronger. A study of the papers and letters gives us the data on which Pitt's mind worked, both for this and the subsequent epoch; and it is hard to avoid the conclusion that Pitt, without first-hand knowledge, and absorbed in other questions, was in the hands of advisers, able, sincere, but narrow-minded and bigoted, from whom he neither heard nor could hear the whole truth. And the missing elements in the official presentation of the situation were profoundly vital. In 1795 Fitzwilliam came into direct contact with realities in Ireland. Unauthorised, he defied the Castle and the British Cabinet, and was recalled. What might have been reform before 1795 and the French Revolution was now in Pitt's judgment impossible. No less clearly, in the judgment of the Opposition leaders, there would be no reform except by a rebellion, in league with France, which would smash the British executive and sever the British connexion. In this terrible dilemma Ireland needed a Warren Hastings and an army of 40,000 regulars commanded by impartial soldiers. She got instead Camden, Clare and the Protestant militia. Had Ireland been a continental possession or had we lost the command of the sea, the rebellion from within, aided by the revolution without, must, in the opinion of competent contemporaries on the spot, have won. Ireland was saved for the Empire, not by British statesmanship from 1794 to 1798, but by the sea.

Dr Rose's account of the policy of the legislative union need not detain us. In both its criticisms and its conclusions it concurs broadly with the views of Mr Lecky and Dr Hunt. A legislative union was an imperial necessity and the indispensable condition of justice to the Roman Catholics and the reform of crying grievances. 'It is absurd,' says Dr Rose, 'to deny that Pitt used corrupt means to carry the union;' and he proves once and again how Pitt, Cornwallis and Castlereagh were determined to make sweeping reforms part and consequence of the union

policy, and thereby to open a new chapter in Irish history. The statesmanlike scheme was shattered by the obstinacy of the King and the desertion of half the Cabinet. The evidence that Pitt's resignation was not a 'notorious juggle,' restated by Dr Rose, is conclusive. We should also agree in the criticism that Pitt's preparations for carrying the union were 'halting and ineffective,' and that it should have been passed in 1798. But neither Dr Rose nor anyone else has explained why Pitt, with the explicit warning of 1795 before him, did not discover until it was too late that on the vital point—Roman Catholic Emancipation—George III would rather go mad or die than yield. If he reckoned on confronting the King with a united Cabinet or the alternative of sending for Fox, it is a terrible proof of Dr Rose's repeated verdict 'that Pitt did not know men and therefore did not know Cabinets.' If it was due to ignorance or self-confidence, it is the most tragic example on record of Pitt's optimism. For Pitt himself, as for England and Ireland, the result was that the legislative union remained the shell of a structure without a roof or a solid foundation.

The diplomacy of the war exhibits Dr Rose in no less critical a spirit, though he fully recognises that the issues involve controversies in some of which at least finality of judgment and agreement, even when the facts are placed beyond dispute, are probably impossible. Unless we are prepared to argue against all the evidence, we can agree with the sane view that the war was not 'inevitable.' On the other hand, in December 1792 a deadlock had been reached, in an atmosphere of intellectual, moral and political storm; and, unless we can prove that Pitt could have 'recognised' the Republic, and that a Franco-British alliance would have altered the principles of Revolution policy, preserved the independence of Belgium and Holland, and saved Poland from dismemberment and the monarchies of the Coalition from extinction, no other alternative than war lay open to Pitt and the solid and organised governing class in whose eyes Pitt on this question was a moderate. For the war, as Dr Rose points out, was not in 1793 truly national, but rather one between our governing class and the Revolution.

From a broad survey of the war period from 1793 to 1803 emerge certain plain questions, the answers to which

go to the root of the matter. Great Britain and the three Coalitions demonstrably failed to attain the objects of their policy. Are the grounds of that failure to be found in the policy or the methods or both? Would the policy have met with success had the methods been more skilfully devised and more effectively applied? or are we justified in concluding that the policy of the statesmen responsible for the Coalitions was based on fundamental misconceptions and miscalculations as well as vitiated by incapacity in execution? Dr Rose, for example, quotes (in another connexion) Pitt's argument in 1790, that it is no valid excuse for a statesman to exclaim in the midst of disaster, 'Who would have thought it?' because statesmanship consists in correct interpretation of a given situation and in foresight of the consequences of a given policy. We cannot exonerate the Second Empire because its ministers and generals, in obedience to an ignorant Paris, and with the most patriotic ambitions, plunged France into war unprepared and with a light heart matched Gramont and Bazaine against Bismarck and Moltke. 'Pitt,' pronounces Dr Rose, 'knew France no better than the great Irishman [Burke].' To Grenville and the Cabinet, M. de Bonaparte was even in 1802 a tinsel and unstable Corsican adventurer. But it is a poor defence of statesmanship to be obliged to plead at every turn ignorance, optimism and shortsightedness, or to prove up to the hilt that our allies were morally rotten, politically corrupt and militarily incompetent. Yet the commentary on the events after 1793 is an uncomfortable expansion of this theme. The old line of defence was in principle more sound and more courageous. To undo the work of revolution was a desirable and necessary object of British policy; a decadent, but absolutist Prussia, Austria and Russia combined with the Bourbons and the *émigrés* would have made a better Europe than a vigorous revolutionary France; the defeat of the Coalitions was a political and moral disaster; the worse cause won; and Pitt cannot be blamed, must rather be praised, because he had done all that mortal man could to avert results for which not he but the Allies; perhaps, were responsible.

Unfortunately the advocates of this line of argument are in embarrassing straits. Experts such as Mr For-

tescue, who has repeated with concise gusto in his 'Lectures on British Statesmen' the indictment set out at length in his 'History of the British Army,' hold that Pitt's military measures did everything to avert success and bring about disaster. History makes strange bed-fellows; and Mr Fortescue, endorsing the verdict of the arch-Whig Macaulay, who dubbed Pitt 'a driveller' as a Minister of War, surely finds himself in questionable and demoralising company. Dr Rose, indeed, either largely admits or does not effectively disprove the formidable arguments piled up by Mr Fortescue. Even if we admit that Mr Fortescue underrates the political difficulties, is it possible to deny in the state of our present knowledge that the conduct of the war reveals almost every blunder of which an alliance making war can be guilty, or that the reasons for our military failures are not perfectly clear and can be brought home to Pitt's Cabinet? 'Where,' said Nelson, 'I should use a penknife, my lord St Vincent would use a hatchet.' Pitt's Cabinet, where a hatchet was required, invariably used a penknife, one blade in which was always missing.

It has been frequently argued, notably by Mahan and others, that the failure of Pitt's military policy in 1800 and again in 1806 is misleading; that the justification of Pitt is to be found in 1814 and in 1815; that Pitt's principles and methods triumphed in the long run; and that Revolutionary and Napoleonic France were overcome by Pitt's disciples carrying out their master's policy and methods. Obviously, the command of the sea, combined with vast operations on the Continent, ultimately destroyed the Napoleonic Empire; obviously, without the combination this result would not have been achieved. But it is demonstrable that the Wars of Liberation were in spirit, principle, methods and objects as different from the wars of the first three Coalitions as was the Peninsular War from the expeditions to Quiberon, Belgium, Toulon or Walcheren. The conduct of the war after 1809 was as fundamentally different from that hitherto pursued as was the Prussian campaign of 1813 from that of 1806. The revolution in strategy was the result of a political revolution which introduced a wholly new moral element into the cause of the Allies. If it is true that Pitt and his colleagues dimly perceived that France

must somehow be beaten on land as well as by sea, we can judge them only by what they did, not by what they wished to see done. Down to 1806 it is demonstrable that they revealed no sign that success depended on a political and moral revolution which in turn would revolutionise military and naval strategy, and bequeathed no proof of their capacity to frame political alliances on a new basis and to plan and execute a campaign of combined naval and military operations on a vast scale, strategically sound and adequately executed. Neither Pitt nor Grenville showed any desire to play the part of a Stein; still less did Dundas betray the ideas or the capacity of a Scharnhorst. Dr Rose, indeed, emphasises rightly (ii, 524) Pitt's 'reliance on the statics of statecraft rather than on the dynamics of nationality,' and his lack 'of the sympathetic instinct' for national and popular effort. On evidential grounds he refuses to believe that Pitt, after Ulm, prophesied the revolt of the Spanish people or contemplated anticipating Canning's or Castlereagh's policy of 'opening a new chapter in the history of Europe' by the Peninsular War. We are entitled, therefore, to conclude that it was not Pitt's principles and methods, as we know them, which ultimately overthrew Napoleon; that continuance of these principles and methods would have met with a continuance of failure; and that, if the opportunity for a wholly new departure was not offered, the principles, methods and objects of the new system were not revealed by Pitt before he died. The proofs that Pitt had divined the secret of his failure, or had in any sense anticipated the triumph of 1814, are still to seek.

The political object of Pitt's diplomacy throughout the war from 1793 to 1801 was 'security.' Security, in the sense of insular security or the freedom of Great Britain from invasion, was certainly achieved both in 1802 and in 1806; and Pitt and the Admiralty are entitled to full credit for the achievement. But security, as defined by Pitt in 1794—a balance of power on the Continent which would guarantee the independence and stability of the European monarchies, the sterilising of revolutionary principles, and the limitation of revolutionary France within the boundaries of 1792—was not achieved. The revolutionary France of 1802 and

1806 was master of the Continent; and in 1802 we accepted the fact. Failure in a great war always raises a plain issue—the statesmanship of those who made it, waged it and were beaten. An obstinate question, therefore, remains. If Great Britain had not spent a shilling on the Coalitions or sent a soldier to the West Indies and the Continent, would she not have been richer by some hundreds of millions of pounds saved and many thousands of lives spared, and politically not a whit the worse off? Would the Peace of Amiens in that case have been different from what it was? Did not Pitt, apart from the moral issues involved, commit a grave mistake when in 1793 he did not separate and keep separate our case against France, when he committed Great Britain to the objects and methods of the Coalitions and pledged us to allies whose selfishness, demoralisation and untrustworthiness had been demonstrated up to the hilt between 1787 and 1792, whose ideals and interests were not ours, and whose success would have been a fatal blow to the very ‘security’ that was the justification of our policy? A similar argument is applicable to the diplomacy on which the Third Coalition (1804–5) was based. Dr Rose discusses the negotiations in detail and offers some trenchant criticism:

‘This scheme’ (he writes) ‘clearly foreshadows the system of alliances and compromises carried out by Castlereagh in the Treaty of Chaumont nine years later. Pitt also assented to the Czar’s proposal that the final settlement should be guaranteed by international agreements forming a basis for the new European polity, a suggestion in which lies the germ of the Holy Alliance. . . . His (Pitt’s) cure for the evils of French domination was scarcely better than the evils themselves. The installation of the Hapsburgs at Venice and Milan, of Victor Emmanuel I at Genoa, of Frederick William of Prussia at Brussels, could not permanently improve the lot of the Italian and Belgian peoples. So soon as we formulate the question we see that, as in 1798, Pitt left their welfare out of count. He aimed merely at piling up barriers against France, and trusted to some vague arrangement with the Czar for safeguarding the political rights of the bartered peoples’ (ii, 523, 524).

And the comment on one part of this negotiation is a concise statement of the results achieved.



'All negotiation was useless. By the 19th [Jan. 1806] the conduct of Prussia respecting Hanover appeared so threatening that Ministers ordered the immediate recall of the whole British force. Thus, England had sent forth some 60,000 troops in order to bring them back again. She had paid a million sterling to Austria, and the results were Ulm and Austerlitz. Nearly as much had gone to Russia, and the outcome was the armistice. A British subsidy had been claimed by Prussia, and in return she was about to take Hanover as a gift from Napoleon' (ii, 556).

Would Great Britain have been any worse off, we may well ask, if in 1804-5 she had relied on her fleet alone, and not spent millions on faithless, incompetent allies, whose failure strengthened the French Empire and the supremacy of Napoleon, and whose success would have anticipated the Holy Alliance of 1815?

Pitt's policy at home, no less fruitful in embittered controversy, is handled by Dr Rose with no less searching criticism and remarkable candour. We are shown that from 1780 there had been a steady agitation for reform which, encouraged by Pitt himself, drew its strength from grave evils in the body politic; that in 1793 those evils remained unredressed; that the widespread discontent and intellectual and political unrest were only secondarily due to French propaganda; that there is no evidence that the two most influential democratic organisations corresponded with France after the declaration of war, or were in any way connected with the mutinies in the fleet; that, while lives were taken and property plundered by 'loyalists' at Birmingham and elsewhere, 'not one life was taken by the people in the course of this agitation'—a fact which, considering the misery, hunger, heavy taxation and the damaging failure of the war, certainly 'speaks volumes for their obedience to the law.' Dr Rose stigmatises as 'monstrous' the claim of the judiciary, inspired by the Cabinet and the legislature, that sedition may be unintentional; he censures the absence of remedial legislation, reflects severely on the sinister and provocative methods of the executive, pronounces Pitt's speech, in which the temper and sentences of the Scottish judiciary were defended, as 'the worst speech of his life,' and agrees that the year of the Treasonable Practices Act 'was the *nadir* of Pitt's

career.' Dr Rose, it may be remarked, has by no means exhausted the MS. sources in the British Museum and the Record Office, or at centres like Sheffield, Norwich, Leeds and Manchester; in particular, the Home Office Papers require a more exhaustive examination than Dr Rose has given them; but the proof of a formidable and widespread conspiracy, in conjunction with republican and revolutionary France, to overthrow government and society, and of a democracy, disloyal and on the verge of a bloody rebellion, which formed the case for the Cabinet, and which seems to be adopted too easily by Dr Hunt, cannot be found in Dr Rose's pages. Indeed, the evidence marshalled by Dr Rose is all the other way.

The issue here is a very simple one. Was it necessary to suspend fundamental rights which made 'our constitution the glory and envy of the civilised world,' and to arm the executive with exceptional powers, or would not the ordinary law have been amply sufficient to check any disorder or disaffection? Simple as is that issue, it opens up all the crucial tests of statesmanship and policy in a critical epoch and in a country admittedly constitutional. As Cavour said, anyone can govern by a state of siege. His own career was a noble proof that it is the highest privilege and quality of statesmanship in a free country to achieve by constitutional machinery all and more than all that can be achieved by autocracy. What judgment are we to pass on responsible Ministers who arguably misinterpret a situation, give way to panic, and without adequate reason deprive a free country and free citizens of political and civic rights? Was Great Britain stronger or weaker, more or less vulnerable in the great struggle with the Revolution when its Government proclaimed by law, deed and word that it had no faith in the efficacy of our constitution and in the allegiance of our citizens? 'The true hero of 1794,' says Dr Rose, 'is not William Pitt, but the British nation.' The verdict is surely applicable to all these ten black years. Can there be a severer condemnation of any British Minister than to say—the British people trusted Pitt, but Pitt did not trust the British people? And is not this the verdict to which step by step the evidence, tested by modern scholarship, is surely bringing us?

Considerations such as these, suggested and supported

by the cooler analysis and fuller knowledge of to-day, must obviously affect our judgment of Pitt's intellectual gifts, of his capacity to penetrate and interpret a complex situation and devise the most appropriate and effective methods for dealing with it; they are deeply significant of his mental attitude and temper. But a final verdict either on the statesman or the epoch cannot be reached merely by an unflinching and unbiased examination of historical sources. The criteria of progress and civilisation, the scale of values for testing political conduct, the comparative worth of liberty and order, the respective merits of an aristocratic or a democratic organisation of a political society, the interpretation of life for individual and nation as a whole, are elements in the wider problem and cannot be settled merely by striking a balance of ascertained facts. In judging statesmen the ends of government and policy which they deliberately adopt cannot be excluded; nor can the historian pure and simple resolve antinomies rooted in fundamental but opposed theories and ideals of life and conduct. The proof that the cause of Puritanism was better than the cause of royalism in 1642 will not find automatic acceptance because the archives have been exhausted. Burke's indictment of the principles of the Revolution as subversive of all that made the political fabric, society and the heritage of civilised life valuable is necessarily and will remain in irreconcilable antithesis to the verdict that the Revolution, for all its excesses, made for a truer liberty and justice and a better social order, and that the triumph of the Coalitions would have been a fatal blow to progress, freedom and nationality.

Any serious and fair estimate of Pitt the statesman requires a decision on the great issues of his epoch no less than an accurate investigation of the facts as revealed in historical records. We may agree that his courage, devotion, high public spirit, singleness of heart, stand the test of rigorous scrutiny; we may add that perhaps he made more errors of judgment, and in certain spheres of action, such as military administration, is now seen at a greater disadvantage, than was admitted by Lord Salisbury and Lord Stanhope. We are coming to agree on a schedule of miscalculations in his measures, of limitations in his political views; we are equally coming to agree

that the interpretation of his motives, distorted by ignorance and blackened by fierce party passion, must be rejected, and that, with all due qualifications, as a parliamentary leader he has few equals and no superiors, to whose credit stand achievements in legislation and policy of the highest order.

Pitt the man, then, has the right to stand higher in our estimation to-day; but what of Pitt the statesman, particularly the statesman of the Revolutionary epoch? Pitt, like Strafford, Richelieu or Metternich, stood for certain principles and for a political and social system, a final judgment on which is inevitable, and must irrevocably heighten or lower our estimate of his statesmanship. No historian will seriously question his commanding place of splendour as the accepted champion of the aristocratic government and society of eighteenth-century England, his intellectual and moral supremacy in his party, or the inextinguishable conviction and tenacity with which he combated the Revolution at home and in Europe. But the very gifts of character and brain, and the social and political ideals which are held to constitute an incontrovertible claim to national gratitude, must suggest to many earnest seekers after truth the gravest misgivings. Those who hold that in 1792 the effort to maintain effete principles was demonstrably doomed to failure, must also hold that Pitt was not merely guilty of an unfortunate optimism, of an imperfect knowledge of men, of a miscalculation here and a blunder there, but that he laboured under a fundamental misinterpretation of the realities of the situation and of the forces and ideals to which a better future belonged. Admiration for the man is overborne by a measured verdict of progressive deterioration and unpardonable blindness in the statesman. Subjected to this test, it must be allowed that Pitt failed in the highest and indispensable qualities of statesmanship. His place is with the Castlereaghs and Metternichs, not with the Chathams and Cavours.

C. GRANT ROBERTSON.

## Art. 2.—BEAU NASH AND BATH.

1. *Bath under Beau Nash*. By Lewis Melville. London : Eveleigh Nash, 1907.
  2. *Bath : a Poem*. London : Longman, 1748.
  3. *An Essay towards a Description of Bath*. By John Wood. Two vols. London : Hitch, 1749.
  4. *The Life of Richard Nash*. [By Oliver Goldsmith.] London : Newbery, 1762.
  5. *Bath Anecdotes and Character*. By the Genius Loci. London : Dodsley, 1762.
  6. *The Jests of Beau Nash*. London : Bristow, 1763.
  7. *The Valetudinarian's Bath Guide*. By Philip Thicknesse. London : Dodsley, 1780.
  8. *The History of Bath*. By the Rev. Richard Warner. London : Robinson, 1801.
- And other works.

It was a wearisome journey of two or three days, not indeed without its diversions and even dangers, from London to Bath in the early years of the eighteenth century. Let us suppose, however, that the journey has been safely accomplished, and that we used-up Londoners, seeking change of air, a water-cure, or a round of pleasure, have just been put down at Bath. As we enter the town the Abbey bells ring out a joyous peal. Is it a royal birthday? Has any glorious news been received? Are any of our fellow-travellers persons of distinction? No; the bells are ringing simply in honour of ourselves, for the great Beau Nash, who is King of Bath, has ruled that all visitors be thus welcomed; and before we have settled down or even had time to unpack our trunks, we have the pleasure of paying an honorarium of half a guinea to the ringers for their services.

We might have taken rooms, or joined a house-party, but we have elected to go to the White Hart Hotel, on the right of which now stands the Grand Pump Room Hotel. It was then known as 'Hart's Lodgings'—a building with a gabled roof, a large porch, and Elizabethan windows. There was quite a number of inns to choose from—the 'Lamb,' the 'Three Tuns,' the 'Greyhound and Shakspeare,' and the 'Bear,' the culinary merits of which Smollett, in his 'Humphrey Clinker,' some years

later was to commend. But, having chosen the White Hart, it will be our duty at night to drink to our hostelry,

'May the White Hart outrun the Bear  
And make the Angel fly;  
Turn the Lion upside down  
And drink the Three Tuns dry.'

No sooner have the welcoming echoes of the Abbey bells died down than we are serenaded by the Waits. Let 'The Register of Folly' relate the experience.

'I scarce was arriv'd when the fiddlers all came,  
And bawl'd out aloud, as by instinct, my name.  
Surpris'd at the meaning, I roar'd out to know,  
While the sweat stood like peas on my deep-furrow'd brow,  
Why such noise and disturbance was making below?  
When instantly ran up an impudent fellow,  
Who looked in the phiz like our parson when mellow,  
And archly demanded my pocket to pick.'

We allow him to do this to the regulation tune of half-a-crown. What matters half-a-crown in view of our other disbursements? For to-night or to-morrow morning we have to subscribe two guineas for the public entertainment fund, for which, however, we receive three tickets for each ball; a guinea or half-a-guinea, according to our rank and quality, for the liberty of promenading in the private walks of the Assembly Houses; and something additional for the use of the coffee-house, which covers the free use of pen, ink and paper. And then, most likely, we shall go to a bookseller's and pay a subscription for the privilege of borrowing a book to read. Perhaps, if we are of an enquiring turn of mind, we shall study the history of the city, from its legendary foundation down to our own times. It is an interesting history, but we must not dwell on it, for before we get to the end of our book we receive a visit of ceremony. Let us look well at our visitor, for he is the celebrated Beau Nash, whose name will ever be associated with Bath.

In 1705 Richard Nash came to the city as a visitor, with other young men, to try his luck at the tables. This 'ex-soldier, ex-lawyer, who had come to play at hazard for a few weeks, remained more than half a century, the glory of the city, the unquestioned *arbiter elegantiarum* of his day; he had come to win a few score

pounds, he achieved a fortune and an undying fame. He became very friendly with Captain Webster, the then 'King' of Bath, and was soon known as his 'aide-de-camp.' This relationship was not destined to last long; for, shortly after Nash's arrival, Webster was killed in a duel, and the Corporation elected Nash in his place.

Nash's father was a Swansea man and a partner in a small glass manufactory. From Carmarthen Grammar School young Nash went to Jesus College, Oxford, the college affected by Welshmen of that day. Goldsmith, who wrote his 'Life,' says, 'In college . . . he soon showed that, though much might be expected from his genius, nothing could be hoped from his industry.' Some intention of matrimony seems to have had something to do with Nash's leaving Oxford earlier than was usual with young men. He left behind him a tobacco-box, a fiddle, and some debts. His father thereupon bought him a commission in the army. As a young officer, he had many opportunities of practising the rôle he had begun in Oxford. He became a professed lady-killer, and dressed 'to the very edge of his finances.' But he found the army too costly for his means and too strict for his ideas of liberty; so he sold out, and became a law student at the Inner Temple in 1693.

'Though very poor, he was very fine' (says Goldsmith); 'he spread the little gold he had, in the most ostentatious manner, and though the gilding was but thin, he laid it on as far as it would go. They who know the town cannot be unacquainted with such a character as I describe; one, who, though he may have dined in private upon a banquet served cold from a cook's shop, shall dress at six for the side-box; one of those whose wants are known only to their laundress and tradesmen and their fine cloaths to half the nobility; who spend more in chair hire than in housekeeping; and prefer a bow from a Lord to a dinner from a Commoner' (p. 9).

Nash had a good manner and a ready tongue, and was always well dressed. These qualities, coupled with plenty of audacity, induced the students of the Middle Temple to select him to direct the pageant which they exhibited before William III in 1695. In the management of this he was so successful that the King desired to knight him as Master of the Revels. This honour he had the good



sense to decline. With ready wit, he said, 'Please your Majesty, if you intend to make me a knight I wish it may be one of your Poor Knights of Windsor, and then I shall have a fortune at least able to support my title.' A similar honour offered by Queen Anne was declined on other grounds. 'Dr' Read, an illiterate quack who advertised that he had been established thirty-five years in the practice of couching cataracts, taking off all sorts of wens, curing wry necks and hare lips, without blemish, though never so deformed, had just been knighted. So Nash declined, dreading lest 'Sir William Read, the mountebank, who had just been knighted, should call him brother.' Indeed, to do him justice, Nash had no desire for a title. When Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, rallied him upon the obscurity of his birth, and compared him with Gil Blas, who was ashamed of his father, he gave her a spirited answer: 'No, madam, I seldom mention my father in company, not because I have any reason to be ashamed of him, but because he has some reason to be ashamed of me.' A lady at Tunbridge Wells once asked him whose child he was, whereupon a young nobleman replied, 'He was the child of Chance, who left him to be nursed by Folly, and he has been always maintained at the expense of the public.' Nash in reply whistled, and, when asked why he did so, said he always whistled when his lordship's led-captain or toad-eater was absent, that the company might know when he said a good thing. So Nash gave as good as he got. A charitable act of his at this time was told to Steele, 'that tender-hearted man who could never hear of a kindly deed without recording it.'

'I remember to have heard a Benchers of the Temple tell a story of a tradition in their House, where they had formerly a custom of choosing kings for such a season, and allowing him his expenses at the charge of the society. One of our kings, said my friend, carried his royal inclination a little too far; and there was a committee ordered to look into the management of his treasury. Among other things it appeared that his majesty, walking *incog.* in the cloister, had overheard a poor man say to another, "Such a small sum would make me the happiest man in the world." The king, out of his royal compassion, privately inquired into his character and, finding him a proper object of charity, sent him the



money. When the committee read the report, the house passed his account with a *plaudite* without further examination, upon the recital of this article in them: For making a man happy, 10*l*.' ('Spectator,' Dec. 14, 1711.)

The Benchers were indeed so struck with their deputy's good nature, that they publicly thanked him for his benevolence and desired that a further 10*l*. might be given to the object of charity as a proof of their satisfaction with Nash's conduct.

How he maintained himself in his early days as a man of society, we are left to conjecture. His gains by gaming, even with his father's allowance, could hardly have been sufficient. As a gambler he seems to have been fairly cautious, for we read of him being one night one of a party gambling until a late hour in a tavern, when one of the players proposed to make the stakes for a final round four bottles of wine 'for the good of the house.' 'For the good of what?' asked Nash. 'I'll tell you what,' he added as he rose, 'you may do as you please, gentlemen, but for the good of *my* house, I'll go home.' It is said that on one occasion he won a considerable sum by riding naked through a village upon a cow, and gained rather than lost in reputation by so doing. He netted 50*l*. on another occasion by standing wrapped only in a blanket at the great door of York Minster during the races, when the people were coming out from service. 'What, Mr Nash, in masquerade?' said the Dean, who recognised him. 'No, Mr Dean,' replied the culprit, pointing to his companions, 'only a Yorkshire penance for keeping bad company.' There was so much curiosity as to his means of livelihood that some went so far as to say that he 'took purses' on the highway. He replied by showing a score of love-letters received during one day, containing money to the amount of fifty pounds.

The Beau loved a jest, especially at the expense of one even less of a scholar than himself. When a lady with pretensions to learning was at an auction, and the auctioneers put up an edition of Horace's works, reading aloud from the title-page, 'Horatii Opera,' she asked Nash, 'Whose operas did the man say?' 'Horace's, madam,' replied the latter; 'he was an Italian.' 'Well, then,' said my lady, 'I'll bid for Horace's operas, for I

love Italian operas of all things.' But he sometimes found his match. 'So, child, you are just come to Bath,' said he to a country girl. 'Yes, sir,' replied the visitor courteously. 'And you have been a good girl in the country and learned to read your book, I hope.' 'Yes, sir.' 'Pray now, let me examine you. I know you have read your Bible and the history of Tobit and his Dog. Now, can you tell me what was the dog's name?' 'His name was Nash, and an impudent dog he was.'

Mr Richard Nash, M.C., who calls upon us shortly after our arrival at Bath, is clearly a gentleman of ready wit and pleasing address.

'A lion renowned, the country all round,  
For cutting no end of a dash;  
Most gorgeous and grandest of Georgian dandies,  
The great "King of Bath," Mr Nash.'

His strength and agility, we are told, commend him to his own sex; and his 'great comeliness of person' keeps him from 'being disagreeable to the other.' Natural good temper, great politeness and good wit make his conversation as a private person as entertaining and as delightful as his 'authority as a Governor is respectful.'

'In height about five feet, eight inches; of a Diameter exactly proportioned to your Height, that gives you the finest Shape; of a black-brown Complexion that gives a Strength to your Looks, suited to the elastic Force of your nervous Fibres and Muscles. With these happy Accomplishments' (says an admiring dedication), 'with the fine Taste you discover in whatever Habit you please to appear and great Gracefulness with which you dance our Country Dances, it will be no great Wonder, that you support your Empire, when once you obtained it. I don't mention your great Dexterity in *French Dances*, because you don't affect dancing them, in which I think you show your Judgment; though no doubt you might as well excell in a Minuet or Reggadon, as in *Bartholomy Fair* or *Thomas I cannot*.'

'Genius Loci,' in 'Bath Anecdotes and Characters' (p. 59), tells us of Nash's duties.

'The business of the Master of the Ceremonies is to regulate the company when they assemble together, to visit them at their houses and lodgings, and, as *arbiter elegantiarum*, to see that the ladies who dance minuets do not presume to stand

up without long lappets; that commoners do not dare to sit with peeresses; and when the clock strikes eleven, with the sight of his watch to bid the music cease and the dance to be done. Although these attentions may in themselves be necessary, yet, if a Master of the Ceremonies would dare avow himself a man of honour or of virtue; if he would point out to the company the notorious gamester, or the suspected fortune-hunter; if he would be the protector of simplicity and the guardian of innocence, he might then not only be called *arbiter elegantiarum*, but he would deservedly be esteemed *Publicæ Virtutis Conservator*. He would then be an important member of society, and of more real consequence to the community, than merely to hand a lady out to a minuet, or regulate the etiquette of precedence.'

Though a gallant himself, Nash did not ignore the moral side of his functions, and 'was always careful to check in others any tendency to a rash *liaison*, or runaway match with a penniless or reprobate adventurer, even when to achieve his kindly object he was compelled to make disclosures to the girl's parents.' Goldsmith cites one instance.

'One night when I was in Wiltshire's Room, Nash came up to a lady and her daughter, who were people of no inconsiderable fortune, and bluntly told the mother she had better be at home: this was at the time thought an audacious piece of impertinence, and the lady turned away piqued and disconcerted. Nash however pursued her and repeated the words again; when the old lady, wisely considering that there might be some hidden meaning couched under this seeming insolence, retired and, coming to her lodgings, found a coach and six at her door, which a sharper had provided to carry off her eldest daughter.'

In view of such good deeds, Anstey in 'The New Bath Guide' might well say:

'Long reigned the great Nash, this omnipotent lord,  
Respected by youth, and by parents adored;  
For him not enough at a ball to preside,  
The unwary and beautiful nymph would he guide;  
Oft tell her a tale, how the credulous maid  
By man, by perfidious man, is betrayed.'

The greatest and best reform he achieved was in the campaign he waged against the practice of duelling; and

even against that of carrying swords. It was the insolence of the chairmen, says Wood, which brought about the latter reform. 'It having been usual with those turbulent people to provoke gentlemen to draw their swords upon them; and then by defending themselves with their chair poles, the danger of murder frightened the ladies to such a degree that public assemblies for diversion seldom ended without the utmost confusion.' But the law was also designed against gamesters who, losing their money, were apt also to lose their temper and draw their swords. Ever after two gamblers had fought and one of them had been run through the body, Nash, on hearing of a challenge, had the parties arrested. To enforce his authority, he desired to give proof that he himself was no coward. So he determined to commit some trivial offence against the code of honour and himself to fight. He soon found an opportunity. A newly-wedded woman of great beauty was in the Cross Bath. Her husband exclaimed, 'She looks more like an angel than a mortal being,' and after further encomiums on her face and form concluded with the wish that he was with her. Nash instantly threw the uxorious young man into the water, with the result that he was called out and wounded in the arm.

'By this double stroke,' says Thicknesse, 'he showed himself a man of pleasantry as well as spirit, two excellent qualifications for a Prince who presides over the pleasures and pastimes of youth.' ('New Prose Bath Guide,' p. 27.)

Though Nash to a large extent made his living by gambling, there are yet many stories to show that he would frequently intervene between a gambler and his fate, and was always ready to give good advice to the infatuated crew which gathered about him and his tables at Bath and Tunbridge. For he made his sway felt almost as much in the latter place as at home. Once a year he went in state to Tunbridge and remained until after the opening ball of the season. His arrangements for visitors were the same as at Bath. He was immensely popular in both places. In 1740 the Corporation of Bath placed a full-length statue of him in the ball-room between those of Newton and Pope. This of course gave rise to a good deal of pleasantry and to an epigram,

attributed to Lord Chesterfield, which appeared in 'The Gentleman's Magazine' for February 1741.

'Immortal Newton never spoke  
More truth than here you'll find,  
Nor Pope himself e'er penn'd a joke  
More cruel on mankind.  
The picture plac'd the busts between  
Gives satyr all his strength;  
Wisdom and Wit are little seen,  
But Folly at full length.'

His popularity and fortunes somewhat declined after an unfortunate law-suit in regard to his dealings with the profits of the gaming tables at Bath and Tunbridge; and in 1748 he was accused of having appropriated some funds raised for a charitable purpose. Yet in 1752 we find another statue erected in his honour, which proves that he had regained any ascendancy and popularity he may have lost by the casino scandal. And for nearly another decade things went well with him. One way or another he must have drawn a large income to meet his expenditure, for he lived in great style. His dress alone, it is said, must have cost him a small fortune. His six black coach-horses were enviously admired. They were so well matched and paced so well together when in full trot that any person at a distance would imagine it was only one horse that drew the carriage. It was in this coach that he made his state visit to Tunbridge, preceded by outriders and French horns. He had also a running footman, a 'gentleman' out of livery, two footmen in livery, a coachman and a postillion.

It is to Nash's credit, as even the hostile Whartons allow, that, in an age of toadyism, he paid no special regard to rank, and did his best to remove the odious distinctions which class-pride would have kept up in his dominions. In fact, King Nash may be thanked for having, by his conduct in this respect, 'introduced into society the first elements of that middle class which is found alone in England.' As Goldsmith puts it (p. iii):

'He was the first who diffused a desire of society and an easiness of address among a whole people who were censured by foreigners for a reservedness of behaviour, and an awkward timidity in their first approaches. He first taught a familiar

intercourse among strangers at Bath and Tunbridge, which still subsists among them. That ease and open access first acquired there, our gentry brought back to the metropolis; and thus the whole kingdom by degrees became more refined by lessons originally derived from him.'

'Boys, boys! let us now be wise, for here is a fool coming in,' said Dr Clarke, conversing gaily with Locke and other learned friends when Nash's chariot stopped at the house. But Nash was no fool. 'No fool,' says Mr Melville, 'could have controlled the unruly throng that flocked to Bath, year in year out, for half a century, and nowhere else was amenable to influence.' Whatever Nash may or may not have been, he must have had great strength of character and a marked personality. 'There was a whimsical refinement in his person, dress, and behaviour, which was habitual to and sat so easily upon him that no stranger who came to Bath ever expressed any surprise at his uncommon manner and experience,' says the author of the 'Life of Quin.' Finally, to quote Douglas Jerrold in his 'Beau Nash, A Comedy':

'He is in Bath the despot of the mode, the Nero of the realm of shirts, the Tiberius of a silk stocking. 'Tis said his father was a blower of glass; and they who best know Nash, see in the son the confirmation of the legend. 'Tis certain our monarch started in life in a red coat; changed it for a Templar's suit of black; played and elbowed his way up the back-stairs of fashion; came to our city; championed the virtue of the wells against the malice of a physician; drove the doctor from his post; founded the Pump-room and the Assembly-house; mounted the throne of etiquette; put on her crown of peacock-plumes; and here he sits, Richard Nash, by the grace of impudence, King of Bath!'

Such, then, was the great man who has come to welcome us strangers to the city, glad, and in a measure proud, to be his subjects for the nonce. He gives us advice as to the disposal of our time. First of all, we have to be up betimes and go to the Bath and thence to the Pump-room to drink the waters, 'Three glasses at three different times, the intervals between each glass enlivened by the harmony of a small band of music as well as by the conversation of the gay, the witty, or the forward.' Then into our chairs to be taken back to our hotel or lodgings for breakfast, unless, indeed, we are

invited to a private or public breakfast at one of the Assembly-Rooms or Spring Gardens, on the other side of the Avon, opposite to the Grove, a sweet retreat laid out in walks and ponds and pastures of flowers. There are public breakfasts there every Monday and Thursday, to the accompaniment of French horns and clarionettes and occasionally vocal music, at a charge of 1s. 6d. a head. Private breakfast parties can be held there, without music, for a shilling a head; and in the open air too, if we affect the fashion and the weather be fine. It was not, perhaps, a very sumptuous repast, but there are the much-advertised 'Spring-garden cakes and rolls,' fresh each morning, and the celebrated 'Sally-Luns,' called after the confectioner of that name in Lilliput Alley:

'Here in the broiling sun we swallow tea,  
And, charm'd with tweedledum and tweedledee,  
Cram down the muffin and the buttered bun,  
And that eccentric dainty—Sally Lun.'

We must, however, bear Thicknesse's advice in mind, and not imitate the subjects of his scorn, who

'will go on in loading their bodies with distemper, pain, and sorrow, till life is not worth accepting, and then repair to Bath, as if the aid of these fountains, without their own, were capable of working miracles. And yet' (he continues) 'I daily see people who professedly come to Bath for these purposes first drink three pints or a quart of the Bath Waters, and then sit down to a meal of Sally Luns or hot spungy rolls, rendered high by burnt butter. Such a meal few young men in full health can get over without feeling much inconvenience; and I have known and seen it produce almost instantaneous death to valetudinarians.' ('Valet. Guide,' p. 23.)

Sometimes after breakfast a dance is arranged, and a minuet or a cotillon performed on the lawns. Or perhaps it may have been a concert-breakfast we were at, the expenses being defrayed by the gentlemen and ladies invited. 'These entertainments,' says Wood (ii, 439), 'were esteemed as some of the politest of the place; they came to meer trifles to individuals; and such people of rank and fortune as were well skilled in music took a pleasure in joining on these occasions with the common band of performers.' And, as the expenses of these concert-breakfasts fell short of the subscription to them, not-



withstanding the tickets came to no more than 1s. 3*d.* apiece, we have the satisfaction of knowing that our pleasure is contributing to the funds of the General Hospital. Or, if we wish quiet or cheapness, we can breakfast by ourselves at a coffee-house on 'buttered rolls or Bath buns, not to be equalled elsewhere, with the best of chocolate, tea, or coffee, paying for each roll or bun the sum of fourpence, and sixpence for a dish of tea or a cup of coffee.' Thereafter, if we do not care for dancing so early, we can quietly read the papers in the Gentlemen's Coffee-house, our ladies going to their own, or we may attend a lecture on art or science. Young girls are not admitted into the Ladies' Coffee-house library, as

'the conversation turns upon politics, scandal, philosophy, and other subjects above our capacity' (so says Lydia Melford); 'but we are allowed to accompany them to the booksellers' shops, which are charming places of resort, where we read novels, plays, pamphlets, and newspapers for so small a subscription as a crown a quarter; and in these offices of intelligence (as my brother calls them) all the reports of the day and all the private transactions of the Bath are first entered and discussed. From the bookseller's shop, we make a tour through the milliners and toymen, and commonly stop at Mr Gills, the pastry-cook, to take a jelly, a tart, or a small bason of vermicelli.' ('Humphrey Clinker,' i, 79.)

By noon we must be in full morning dress to appear on the Grand Parade or in Queen's Square, and promenade there to meet our friends and make arrangements for the evening; after which, if we are so disposed, we can walk in the meadows and refresh ourselves at one of the eating-houses on King's Mead. But we must not overdo the refreshment, as we dine at four in our rooms, and the dinner is good.

'Visitors' (says Wood) 'are sure to find their tables covered with the best of provisions of all kinds. Our mutton is celebrated, and that which is really fed upon our own Downs has a flavour beyond comparison; our butter cannot be exceeded, the herbage in the neighbourhood being sweet; the housewifery neat and clean; and we have fish in great plenty as fresh and as good as even the greatest epicure can desire. So that if good provisions may be called an addition to the pleasures of any place, Bath will yield to none in this point,

especially since no city in the world can be furnished with better or cleaner cook-maids to dress them' (ii, 442).

After dinner there are evening prayers to attend in the Abbey Church, as a preliminary to joining the entire company at the Pump-room, thence to tea at the Assembly-houses, and then visits or cards or dancing or a theatrical entertainment. There were always large balls at Harrison's, the old ball-room, on Tuesdays and at Thayer's, the newer one, on Fridays. Thayer's in our time was managed by Mrs Hayes, a widow who married Lord Hawly, who also kept a gaming-table, as the Duke of Chandos kept a lodging-house, and Archdeacon Hunt sold wine. The balls commenced at six o'clock and ended at eleven. Each ball opened with a minuet, danced by the lady and gentleman of the highest rank present. When this was concluded, the lady returned to her seat; and the Master of Ceremonies brought the gentleman to another partner, with whom she danced a second minuet, after which both retired. This ceremony was observed with every succeeding couple, each gentleman dancing with two ladies until all had taken part in this dance, which usually occupied a couple of hours. Formality was slightly relaxed after eight o'clock, when the country dances began; but etiquette was still so far insisted on that ladies of the highest rank stood up first. At nine o'clock there was an interval for tea, and sometimes for more elaborate refreshments, as Sarah Montague found that in 1745 'there was a table of sweetmeats, jellies, wine, biscuits, cold ham and turkey, set behind two screens, which at nine o'clock were taken away and the table discovered. . . . Above stairs there was a hot supper for all that would take the trouble to go up.' After refreshment dancing was resumed until eleven o'clock, when Nash would enter the ball-room and hold up his hand to the musicians to stop. Then there was allowed a short time for the company to cool, when the ladies were handed to their chairs. And so the public evening came to an end. There was no theatre worthy of the name at Bath before 1747, but theatrical representations were common enough. Nash did not encourage private parties or coteries, 'acting upon the grand principle of congregating the devotees of fashionable amusement, regularly and frequently, into a brilliant focus.' 'Tis a

crime here not to appear in public,' wrote Lady Orkney to the Countess of Suffolk on September 14, 1711.

So, you see, we had plenty of amusement under King Nash, who took care that every hour of the day should have its diversion. Let 'The Register of Folly' describe the continual round of pleasure :

' At Bath I'm arrived, and I freely declare  
I do nothing but wonder, ask questions and stare ;  
Here's music, warm-bathing, fine dancing and singing,  
With racketing, rioting, gaming and ringing ;  
Such bustling and jostling, such hurries are made,  
At the pump-room, the ball-rooms, the play and parade,  
You would swear 'twas a fair, or a race, or a shew,  
With a constant succession of puppets-a-row ;  
All dressed so profusely, you'd think their resort,  
Instead of such places, was hourly to Court ;  
Such a brilliant appearance of plenty and wealth  
That nothing seems wanted—but *Virtue and Health.*'

You may vow there is nothing to do at Bath, but you 'can find no spare time for the least employ.' Indeed, Mrs Booby, one of the characters in Graves' 'The Spiritual Quixote' (i, 301) complains :

'It is a tedious circle of unmeaning hurry, anxiety, and fatigue, of fancied enjoyments and real chagrins. . . . Nothing can be more trifling than the life of a lady, nor more insipid than that of a gentleman, at Bath ; the one is a constant series of flirting and gadding about, the other of sauntering from place to place without any scheme or pursuit. Scandal or fashions engross the conversation of the former ; the news of the day, the price of fish, the history of the preceding night at the tavern, or savoury anticipations of their next debauch, furnish out the morning entertainment of the latter.'

Elizabeth Montagu is also severe in her strictures. 'I think no place can be less agreeable,' she writes. "'How d'ye do?" is all one hears in the morning, and "What's trumps?" in the afternoon.'

After all, however, there is one serious business to be got through—bathing—the real or imaginary pretext for most of the visits paid to Bath. There are five baths.

'The oldest, close by the Abbey Church, was the King's Bath, fifty-nine by forty feet, and when filled—in about nine and a

half hours—from a spring in the centre, contained over four hundred tons of water. There were niches on each side for the bathers to shelter from wind and rain, and those on the east and west sides were called the Kitchen, owing to the great heat of the water in that part. At each corner were steps leading to apartments for dressing and disrobing, but these, Dr Sutherland said in 1760, resembled cells for the dead rather than rooms for the living.' (Melville, p. 127.)

In the midst of it was a wooden structure, surmounted by a tower and an effigy of Bladud, with an inscription to this 'great philosopher and mathematician, the first discoverer and founder of these baths.' When Queen Elizabeth visited Bath she erected a cistern, the New Bath, for the poor, which was fed by the overflow of the King's Bath. After Queen Anne, consort of James I, used it in 1615, it was called the Queen's Bath. Here is the account of how Queen Anne came to use it.

'As the Queen was bathing in the King's Bath, there arose from the bottom of the cistern, just by the side of Her Majesty, a flame of fire, like a candle, which had no sooner ascended to the top of the water than it spread itself upon the surface into a large circle of light, and then became extinct. This so frightened the Queen that, notwithstanding the physicians assured her the light proceeded from a natural cause, yet she would bathe no more in the King's Bath, but betook herself to the New Bath, where there were no springs to cause the like phenomena; and from thence the cistern was called the Queen's Bath. It was soon enlarged; and the citizens, erecting a tower or cross in the middle of it, in honour of the Queen, finished it at the top with the figure of the crown of England over a globe, on which was written in letters of gold, "*Annæ Reginae Sacrum.*"' (Melville, p. 129.)

In the south-west part of the city were the Hot Bath, the Lepers' Bath, and the Cross Bath, so called from the cross in the middle of it. This last was 'temperate and pleasant, having eleven or twelve arches of stone in the sides for menne to stand under in tyme of reyne.' It was used almost exclusively by the gentry.

The hours of bathing were from six to nine in the morning. The bathers were exposed to wind and rain and also to the public gaze, an idle crowd looking on from the galleries. A band played. The bathers joined

in the choruses to such an extent that the music was discontinued by the Corporation in 1676.

'There is a serjeant belonging to the baths that all the bathing tyme walkes in the galleryes and takes notice order is observed and punishes the rude; and most people of fashion sends to him when they begin to bathe, then he takes particular care of them and compliments you every morning, which deserves its reward at the end of the season.'\*

The bathers doubtless behaved pretty much as they did when Anstey wrote:

'Oh, 'twas pretty to see them all put on their flannels,  
And then take the water like so many spaniels;  
And though all the while it grew hotter and hotter,  
They swum just as if they were hunting an otter;  
'Twas a glorious sight to behold the fair sex  
All wading with gentlemen up to their necks,  
And view them so prettily tumble and sprawl  
In a great smoking kettle as big as our hall;  
And to-day many persons of rank and condition  
Were boiled by command of an able physician.'

In front of many of the ladies there floated a dish in which they kept their handkerchief, snuff-box, and even a nosegay. The costume is described by Celia Fiennes.

'The ladyes goes into the bath with garments made of a fine yellow canvass, which is stiff and made large with great sleeves like a parson's gown; the water fills it up so that it's borne off that your shape is not seen; it does not cling close as other linning, which looks sadly in the poorer sort that go in their own linning. The gentlemen have drawers and waistcoats of the same sort of canvas; this is the best linning, for the bath water will change any other yellow' (*op. cit.* p. 13).

Others say that the garments, originally white, were turned yellow by the action of the water. Miss Lydia Melford, who visited Bath under Smollett's auspices, says:

'The Ladies wear jackets and petticoats of brown linen, with chip hats, in which they fix their handkerchiefs to wipe the sweat from their faces; but truly, whether it is owing to the steam that surrounds them or the heat of the water, or the nature of the dress, or to all these causes together, they

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\* 'Through England on a Side-Saddle; being the Diary of Celia Fiennes' (London: Field and Tuer, 1888), p. 12.

look so flushed and so frightful, that I always turn my eyes another way.' ('Humphrey Clinker,' i, 77.)

Pope, however, thought the baths becoming, especially to Martha Blount. To her sister Mary he writes:

'Ladies, I have [seen] you often. I perfectly know how you look in black and white. I have experienced the utmost you can do in any colours; but all your movements, all your graceful steps, all your attitudes and postures, deserve not half the glory you might here attain of a moving and easy behaviour in buckram; something betwixt swimming and walking; free enough yet more modestly half-naked than you appear anywhere else. You have conquered enough already by land; show your ambition, and vanquish also by water.' ('Correspondence,' iv, 248.)

The society over which Nash presided was a sort of republic, but it was not an anarchy. It submitted to rules; but the rules, drawn up by Nash himself, received the sanction of the community. (Wood, ii, 412.)

*'The Code of Behaviour by General Consent Determin'd.*

1. That a Visit of Ceremony at coming to Bath, and another at going away, is all that is expected or desired by Ladies of Quality and Fashion—except Impertinents.

2. That Ladies, coming to the Ball, appoint a time for their Footmen's coming to wait on them Home, to prevent Disturbances and Inconveniences to themselves and others.

3. That Gentlemen of Fashion never appearing in a Morning before the Ladies in Gowns and Caps, shew Breeding and Respect.

4. That no Person take it ill that anyone goes to another's Play or Breakfast, and not their's—except Captious by Nature.

5. That no Gentleman give his Tickets for the Balls to any but Gentlewomen.—N.B. Unless he has none of his Acquaintance.

6. That Gentlemen crowding before the Ladies at the Ball shew ill Manners; and that none do so for the future—except such as respect nobody but themselves.

7. That no Gentleman or Lady take it ill that another dances before them—except such as have no Pretence to dance at all.

8. That the Elder Ladies and Children be content with a Second Bench at the Ball, as being past, or not come to Perfection.

9. That the Younger Ladies take no notice how many Eyes observe them. N.B.—This does not extend to the *Have-at-alls*.\*

10. That all Whisperers of Lies and Scandal be taken for their Authors.

11. That all Repeaters of such Lies and Scandal be shun'd by all Company—except such as have been guilty of the same Crime. N.B.—Several men of no Character, Old Women and Young Ones of questioned Reputation, are great Authors of Lies in this place, being of the Sect of Levellers.'

Nash saw that the code was rigorously enforced. He refused even the request of the Princess Amelia, George II's daughter, to have 'one more country dance' after the hour of eleven. When she asked for this, he looked at her with the greatest surprise visible in his countenance. She added, 'Remember I am a Princess.' 'Yes, madam,' replied the implacable Master of Ceremonies, 'but *I* reign here, and *my* laws must be kept.' In the 'Jests of Beau Nash,' we read:

'It is well known that Nash kept up the Dignity of the Balls both at Bath and Tunbridge, and would not suffer any Ladies to be admitted that were not properly dressed. A certain Duchess, however, who was of too much consequence to be refused admittance, came dressed in a white Apron, and making up directly to him, "Your servant, Sir," said she, "your servant, Mr Nash." He saw that this was done to lessen his Authority, and therefore answered coolly, "How do you do, Mrs Abigail?" "What do you mean," says she, "you Puppy? Do you take me for my servant?" "Madam," says Nash, "I beg your Grace's pardon and your servant's too, for I see you are not half so handsome."'

He specially disliked men coming to the baths booted and spurred, and organised a puppet show with a *jeu d'esprit*, in which Punch came on booted and spurred. Accosting his mistress, he is desired to pull off his boots before going to bed. 'My boots!' replies Punch, 'why, madam, you may as well bid me pull off my legs. I never go without boots; I never ride, I never dance without them; and this piece of politeness is quite the thing at Bath. We always dance at our town in boots, and the ladies often move minuets in riding-hoods.' Thus he goes on till his mistress, grown impatient, kicks him off

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\* This rule is omitted by Wood, but given by Goldsmith.



the stage. After this, few ventured to appear in boots and spurs at the Assemblies; and when, one evening, a gentleman just off a journey did enter the ball-room so attired and with a whip in his hand, the Master of the Assemblies was equal to the occasion. He immediately went up to the new-comer and, after welcoming him to Bath, begged humbly to remind him of something he had forgotten. 'What is that, sir?' asked the visitor innocently. 'Why, sir,' replied Nash, 'I see you have got your boots, spurs, and whip, but you have unfortunately left your horse behind.'

But bathing and dancing had their rival attractions, the chief of which was gaming.

'In the eighteenth century all fashionable England played cards; and not to know the games in vogue was to argue oneself low-bred. From the court to the scullery everyone gambled; . . . while a whole company would, on the slightest pretext, or indeed on no pretext whatever, sit down to the tables that were always set out in readiness at all assemblies. "Books! Prithee don't talk to me about books! The only books I know are men and cards," cried Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough; and the limits of her knowledge were those of the rest of England, except that they knew more about cards than mankind. . . . The passion was not confined to men, but extended to women and even to the young of both sexes. "The boys and girls sit down as gravely at whist tables as fellows of colleges used to do formerly," as Walpole remarked in 1741. "It is actually ridiculous that play should become the business of the nation from fourteen to fourscore."' (Melville, p. 183.)

Music, the discussion of politics, and even dancing and drinking gave the *pas* to cards and dice; and at Bath, every evening in the season, the company repaired to the Assembly Rooms to lose their own money or win their friends'. 'Harrison's rooms are so full every night 'tis to me very disagreeable; if one had an inclination, 'tis next to impossible to get a table to play,' Lady Anne Irwin complained to Lord Carlisle in 1729; and twenty years later Mrs Montagu told the Duchess of Portland that 'Whist and the noble game of E.O. employ the evening.' As the author of 'Bath, a Poem,' says:

'When radiant Sol has gain'd his Mid-day Height,  
And when he drops in Thetis' Lap at Night,

The Old, the Young, the Black, the Brown, the Fair,  
 A Medley Crew! all to the *Rooms* repair.  
 Our peaceful *Warriour* with his *Muff* behold,  
 Who, in a Chair box'd up, dares face the Cold.  
 Hither, from all Parts, desp'rate *Bankrupts* run,  
 Who may undo, but cannot be undone.  
 All Hands to *Bus'ness*, tho' a *Tradesman's* Bill  
 Is left unpaid for years; some to *Quadrille*,  
 And crowds to *Whist* sit down and fam'd E. O.,  
 Who, learn'd in these, scarce other *Letters* know.'

No wonder that people flocked to Bath. The names selected at random by Mr Melville form a goodly 'Visitors' List' during the reign of Beau Nash—Fielding, Smollett, Pope, Mary Lepel, Henrietta Howard, Lord Chesterfield, Warburton, Tickell, Shenstone, Gainsborough, Pitt, Bolingbroke, Arbuthnot, Cowper, Bishop Butler, Young, Mrs Catherine Macaulay, Defoe, Princess Mary (who was burnt out at her lodgings and accepted Nash's hospitality for the rest of her second visit), Congreve, Steele, Bishop Berkeley, and others.

Sarah, Duchess of Marlborough, tolerated Bath so long as she thought the water did the Duke good. Thus she wrote to Lady Cowper on September 3, 1716:

'Her Grace of Shrewsbury is here and of a much happier Temper. She plays at Ombre upon the Walks, that she may be sure to have Company enough, and is as well pleased in a great Crowd of Strangers as the common People are with a Bull-baiting or a Mountebank. I have been upon the Walks but twice, and I never saw any Place abroad that had more Stinks and Dirt in it than Bath; with this difference only, that we are not starved, for here is a great Plenty of Meat, and very good; and as to the Noise, that keeps One almost always awake.' (Melville, p. 160.)

The Duchess became very friendly with Nash and corresponded with him afterwards, consulting him as to houses, the building of bridges, the digging of canals, and the granting of leases.

A visitor less pleasing to Nash was Lord Peterborough the eccentric, who lost all his luggage on the way to Bath in 1731, and, rather than refurnish his wardrobe, had recourse to his friends even for clean linen. 'It is a comical sight,' notes Lady Harvey, 'to see him with his blue ribbon and star and a cabbage under each arm, or a

chicken in his hand, which, after he himself has purchased at market, he carries home for dinner.' Here, too, came Mrs Howard, who was made Countess of Suffolk; the beautiful Miss Chudleigh, whom Thackeray describes as 'slipping away from one husband and on the look-out for another'; and the highly respectable 'Mrs Pendarvis,' whom we know better as Mrs Delany, who writes to Swift on April 22, 1736, 'I left the Bath last Sunday se'night very full and gay.' She thinks Bath a more comfortable place to live in than London.

'All the entertainments of the place' (she says) 'lie in a small compass; and you are at your liberty to partake of them, or let them alone, just as it suits your humour. This town [London] is grown to such an enormous size that above half the day must be spent in the streets, going from one place to another. I like it every year less and less.'

In 1754 Nash seems to have fallen upon evil days; and, under the pretext of a subscription for a 'History of Bath and Tunbridge,' a sum of money was raised for him, which tided him over several years. On February 17, 1760, the Corporation tardily recognised his services to Bath by granting him a pension of ten guineas a month. Nash had no great liking for doctors in their professional capacity. 'Physicians,' he said, 'are excellent companions over a bottle, but odious under a phial.' A well-known story, fathered upon many, is told of him. Dr Cheney pointed out the advantage of having followed his prescription. 'Followed your prescription!' exclaimed Nash ungratefully. 'If I had, I should have broken my neck, for I flung it out of the two pair of stairs window.' Nash was for curing all disease by the waters. On Cheney advocating a vegetable diet, 'You old fool,' said the Beau. 'Do you think the Almighty sent Nebuchadnezzar to grass for his health?' Nash was very fond of his supper. Cheney told him jestingly that he behaved like other brutes, and lay down as soon as he had filled his belly. 'Very true,' retorted Nash; 'and this prescription I had from your neighbour's cow, who is a better physician than you and a superior judge of plants, notwithstanding you have written so learnedly on the vegetable diet.' As a rule, he was moderate both in eating and drinking. His usual fare was a couple of

glasses of wine, and a plain dish or two with plenty of potatoes, which he called the English pine-apple. He was so fond of them that he used to eat them as food after dinner. But, with all his abstemiousness, he was a martyr to gout. 'The moment he found a foot attacked with it,' says Thicknesse, 'he sat with both feet in buckets of hot Bath water, and by that means put off the violence of the pain and often the disorder itself.'

He lived, however, to be over eighty-six years of age, and died in his house in Saw Close on February 12, 1761, as a memorial on the house testifies to this day. The Corporation accorded him a public funeral. After lying in state four days, he was buried, the procession being headed by charity girls walking two and two, followed by the boys. As they marched they sang a hymn. Then came the city band and Nash's own musicians playing the Dead March in 'Saul.' Three clergymen preceded the coffin, its black velvet pall supported by the six senior Aldermen of the City. The Masters of the Assembly Rooms were the chief mourners, followed by members of the Corporation, the beadles of the Hospital, and the poor patients who had always found in him a benefactor. Even the tops of houses were covered with spectators. Sorrow sat upon every face, and even children lisped—we quote the Corporation Minute-book—that their sovereign was no more.

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Art. 3.—THE ELIZABETHAN AGE IN RECENT LITERARY HISTORY.

1. *L'Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais*. Par J. J. Jusserand. Two vols. Paris: Firmin-Didot, 1894, 1904. English translation. Three vols. London: Fisher Unwin, 1906-9.
2. *The French Renaissance in England*. By Sidney Lee. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1910.
3. *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*. By Richard Wülker. Two vols. Leipzig: Meyer, 1906-7.
4. *The Cambridge History of English Literature*. Edited by A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller. Vols v-vii. Cambridge: University Press, 1910-11.

LITERARY History is a relatively late-born scion of the great family of historical studies. In spite of many brilliant achievements it has hardly, even now, attained in England either the esteem or the fixity of method which political history, after many stormy struggles, enjoys. This is partly due to the rarity of that fine blend of the scientific and the poetic temper without which the history of literature in any true sense cannot be written, and partly to the abundance of cheap substitutes for one or both. Three distinct tasks, at least, confront the literary historian; and their execution calls for widely different tools. He has, first, to be a literary critic, to evaluate the individual literary work. Secondly, he has to be a biographer, to appreciate and define the personality of the writer. And these indispensable studies are only ancillary to the third and most exacting task, that of detecting the interrelations and affinities among the individual authors and books, of exhibiting the intricate web of influences and filiation which makes it possible to discern common character in the literature of an epoch and continuity in the literature of a people. The history of literary history is in great part the record of the development of new methods, instruments of research, and points of view, bearing upon this last class of problem. It was a series of brilliant and immensely suggestive, if specious, solutions of them which launched it, as a serious study, upon its course.

At the close of the great generation which witnessed

the gradual wakening of the historical temper in Western Europe, the generation which opened with Montesquieu and ended with Gibbon, literary history was still a nascent, nay, an embryonic, growth. Bacon, in his memorable survey of the varieties, actual and possible, of human learning, had put his finger on the place where literary history should have been, and found it vacant. For a century afterwards no attempt was made to fill it. Poets and wits mingled with soldiers and statesmen in the motley multitude of Fuller's Worthies; gossiping anecdotes of the literary world, brief lives of dramatists and notices of plays, were strung together by Aubrey and Langhorne. But the project of an English literary history seems first to have been entertained by the severest critic, among his contemporaries, of the English literary past—by Pope. The brilliant and incisive critical epigrams of his *Epistle to Augustus*, and the audacities of chronology which he there permitted himself for the better 'imitation' of Horace, may serve to indicate where the strength and weakness of his *History*, had it been carried out, would have lain. Immeasurably more to be regretted is the abandonment of a similar project, a generation later, by Gray. Crescimbeni had some years earlier produced his '*Istoria della volgare Poesia*' (1698); and Tiraboschi was already planning his vast *History of the entire Italian Literature*. If any Englishman of the eighteenth century was qualified for similar achievements, it was Gray. But his friend Thomas Warton had conceived a similar plan; and, indolence doubtless assisting generosity, Gray resigned the enterprise. His notes, put at Warton's disposal, thus became the nucleus of the huge unorganised mass of antiquarian erudition which its author called the '*History of English Poetry*.'

Warton's notions of literary history were indeed crude enough. But he had, together with an ardour of exploration not too common in that age of easy-going scholarship, a sense, vague and incomplete no doubt, of the worth, for his own time and for the future, of the buried literary past which he did so much to make accessible. He was the doughtiest if not the most gifted of the early English Romantics, one who, comfortable eighteenth-century Oxford professor as he was, had heard the elfin-horns of Romance faintly afar, and lustily challenged the citadel

of classicism in their name. Some of the prepossessions which in Herder were soon to become illuminating and constructive ideas seem to be unconsciously at work in him. When he introduces Dante, for instance, to explain Buckhurst, he is instinctively approaching one of the great synthetic conceptions of the next generation, that of comparative literature. But there is no trace in him of a second conception without which the first would have exercised little of its fertilising power—that which recognises in the literature of a people an organic growth, undergoing, like other living things, a continuous evolution, rooted in the national life, and serving as an explicit sign or index of the national mind. When literature was thus understood, comparative literature became a comparison, in Herder's phrase, of the 'voices of the peoples,' and thus a study to which nothing in the national life was irrelevant.

This first daring synthesis of literary facts was doubtless to be largely qualified in the future. But its value in inspiring and shaping the young science and art of literary history is beyond question. It was not reached at once. Lessing, fighting single-handed to win his countrymen from their literary servitude to France, first formulated the ideal of a 'national literature.' Winckelmann brought order into the chaos of antique art by discovering the evolution of style. Herder revealed to a century for which 'poetry' was solely a fine art, the endless wealth of the folk-poems of all ages and peoples, in which it is, as he said, the very voice of nature. Goethe, with a critical sense far more supple than Herder's, drew the poetry of mature as well as that of primitive ages into the purview of comparative literature, and grasped with a delicacy of insight only rivalled by that of Sainte-Beuve the subtle interaction between individual genius and its social and literary *milieu*. Of this process his own early development was a signal example, and he described it with a power and breadth which make 'Dichtung und Wahrheit' one of the greatest of literary histories as well as of autobiographies. The romantic school, led by Wilhelm and Friedrich Schlegel, carried out these synthetic conceptions to yet more daring extremes. Wilhelm's famous lectures on the history of the drama, given at Vienna in 1808, made the first luminous survey of



the entire evolution of a literary species; and Friedrich, with less scholarship but more genius, attempted in a brilliant sketch to seize the organic movement of the entire literature of the world;\* while in the philosophy of Schelling, their intimate and ally, the far-reaching literary synthesis of Romanticism seemed to acquire an imposing speculative basis. The universe was with him an organism—spirit in evolution; and poetry was the culminating form of nature, whose energies, elsewhere struggling for utterance, there alone found unimpeded expression. So lofty a conception of literature glorified at the same time the literary historian, whose privilege it thus was to narrate the communications of the liberated soul of the world.

This magnificent Romantic investiture of literary history had perhaps little practical effect. But the Romantic ideas of comparative literature, of literary evolution, and of the organic coherence between literature and all the aspects of culture and life, told powerfully during the next generation even among the assailants of Romanticism, and passed beyond the Rhine and beyond the North Sea. The German heart of Heine, and the Romantic fibre of his brain, had equally their way with him when the idol of Paris salons wrote his wonderful outline of the intellectual history of his country.† Coleridge and Carlyle both drank deeply of Romanticism; neither achieved literary history in the strict sense; but without the inspiration of Romantic ideas Coleridge's Shakespeare would have been less remote from the Shakespeare of Malone, and Carlyle's 'Heroes' less unlike the 'Lives' of Johnson. To the larger synthetic conceptions England on the whole, with her deeply ingrained individualism, remained impervious. It was otherwise in France. There the first ringing challenge in the name of German Romanticism—Mme de Stael's '*L'Allemagne*' (1810)—coincided with a purely French movement to inspire interest in other literatures. Mme de Stael herself was the founder of comparative literary history in France. And in the next generation the supple and versatile critical sympathy of the Schlegels reappeared in

\* F. Schlegel, '*Vorlesungen über Geschichte der alten und neuen Litteratur*' (1815).

† '*Zur Geschichte der Religion und Philosophie in Deutschland*' (1834).

Edgar Quinet, the translator of Herder's 'Ideen,' and in A. F. Villemain, a Romantic who revealed Pindar to the classicists of France, and forced its chauvinists to recognise Burke.\*

Hitherto the driving and fecundating forces in literary history had been derived from philosophy and poetry. In France, from the thirties onwards, it began to be submitted to the analogies of natural science. Sainte-Beuve had his roots, as he said, in the positive and scientific eighteenth century;† his exquisitely delicate critical analysis of minds he compared to dissection of the body; and there floated before him, as the final end of literary criticism, a natural history of spirits. The end was remote, perhaps unattainable; but his refined exploration of the affinities and distinctions between different minds had in view an ultimate synthesis like the ordered grouping of the plant or animal world. But it was by Taine, as is well known, that the naturalistic and physiological analogies of literature were for the first time fearlessly applied to literary history. Man was an animal who produced poems and philosophies as birds their nests; and the literary historian studied the animal by analysing its product. Taine's method appealed powerfully to the positive temper of his time, and it gave an imposing unity and continuity to his History of our literature, for his real subject was the mind of the English people, of which its literature was the 'document' or the 'sign.'

But it was soon apparent that this brilliant synthesis was largely illusory. Sainte-Beuve, in his review of the 'Littérature Anglaise,' already pointed out that literature could not be so directly derived from its *milieu*. In what sense was 'Paul et Virginie' a 'sign' of the corrupt and decadent France of Louis XV? Two brilliant younger critics, Émile Hennequin and Ferd. Brunetière, advanced important modifications of Taine's doctrine; but both, even in their antagonism, show how deeply his treatment of the society out of which literature springs as the true subject of literary history had impressed the French mind.

\* 'Tableau de la littérature française au 18<sup>me</sup> siècle; id. au moyen âge' (1828).

† Cf. his illuminating 'Confession,' and his comments on it in 'Port Royal,' vol. ii, Appendix 2.

Hennequin\* agreed in affirming that a people's literature expresses it; this, however, was not because it had produced the literature, but because it had adopted and admired it, literature which it did not admire failing in the long run to be produced. The *nexus* is kept, but it is now psychological or economic instead of biological; the book conforms to its social *milieu*, not because it grows out of it, but because it is written to please and to be bought. Brunetière did not thus set aside the biological standpoint of Taine; but he sought to overcome the anomalies incident to it by a more thorough-going application of biological analogies, in particular of those supplied by the discoveries of Darwin. The Darwinian doctrine of sporadic variations, which break up existing species and originate new ones, offered a real if incomplete parallel to the evolution of literature through the agency of a constant succession of fresh minds, each in its degree modifying or transforming, but never wholly escaping, the tradition it finds. In the course of the last twenty-five years both these lines of investigation in literary history have been pursued with brilliant results in France; the study of the literary audience in Beljame's masterly volume 'Le Publique et les Hommes de Lettres en Angleterre;' the evolution of 'kinds' in Brunetière's history of French critical theory,† and the study of the evolution of the French Lyric carried out by his pupils; while the two procedures are employed together, with brilliant literary skill and admirable learning, in M. Jusserand's 'Literary History of the English People.'

The influence of Taine's work spread far beyond the bounds of France. Without it neither Georg Brandes's 'Main Currents of Nineteenth Century Literature,' nor Wilhelm Scherer's 'History of German Literature,' nor Ten Brink's 'History of English Literature' would have been fashioned as they are. But Germany, at least, had her independent canons and methods of literary history. The enthusiastic ideals of Romanticism had there too been subjected to the more positive and scientific conceptions of the twenties and thirties. But, whereas in France the scientific influence came from the

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\* 'La critique scientifique' (1890).

† 'L'Évolution des genres,' vol. I.

side of natural history, in Germany it came from that of comparative philology. And, if in France literary history was at once animated and warped by imperfectly relevant analogies, in Germany it tended rather to be impoverished by excessive rigour of method. The continuity which the Romantics divined between the literature of successive epochs hardened into the causal *nexus* between a work and its 'sources.' *Quellenforschung* (the research of sources), a pre-eminently German study, has enormously multiplied the known affiliations among literary facts; but in its preoccupation with the derivative side of literature it has tended to ignore the creative, or even to deny its existence. On the other hand, the assumption upon which *Quellenforschung* is grounded—that a literary work can be exhaustively analysed, and its separate elements accounted for—has led, in competent hands, to wonderfully delicate and penetrating studies of poetic 'experience,' such as Hehn's essay on Goethe, and the studies of Goethe, Lessing and Shakespeare in Dilthey's 'Das Erlebnis und die Dichtung.'

In England the German doctrine of 'sources,' like the French doctrine of the *milieu*, has never struck deep root. Sir Sidney Lee's account of the 'French Renaissance in England,' to be noticed in more detail below, is a conspicuous example of comparative literary history based upon a close and penetrating study of origins. The strength of literary history among us has lain less in synthetic grasp of the connexions and continuities among literary phenomena than in vigorous 'appreciation' of the individual writer and of the individual book. An extreme illustration (we had almost said a *reductio ad absurdum*) of this tendency is Mr Arthur Symonds's 'Romantic Movement,' a collection of refined and subtle detached studies of the writers of an epoch arranged according to the dates of their birth. As a rule, our literary history is a loose mixture of biography and criticism in various proportions. But their rightful relative shares and mutual relations are still undefined. A school of critics once in high repute would have thrust biography out of literary history altogether, on the ground that a man's life was only superficially relevant to his writing; while in more popular work the literary features were often obscured by the interest of a career

of adventure, misfortune or crime. If we have examples of a better way than either, of an imaginative apprehension of a life and of its thought and speech together, as in Pater's wonderful 'Studies of the Renaissance,' the honour is mainly due to two great masters of literary biography—Goethe and Sainte-Beuve. Goethe's life of Winckelmann\* (1805), the historian of classic art, the idol of his student days at Leipzig, is a memorable example of a man completely *seen*, so that his outer history and his inner growth, his early struggles and his mature triumphs, his passion for friendship and his passion for beauty, appear as features in the same face. Of Sainte-Beuve's exquisite sensibility to the finest vibrations of personality alike in literature and in life, it is needless to speak. If he has roots in science, if his ultimate aim is a scientific classification, a 'natural history of minds,' the delicate insight with which he feels out their infinitely varied *nuances* makes him the most consummate portrayer of the individual mind, the first of literary biographers as of literary critics. It is in his union of the utmost scientific refinement in the analysis of every order of fact with the acutest sense of literary values that Sainte-Beuve surpassed the English masters of critical appreciation in the previous generation, Lamb and Hazlitt. No one has ever reproduced the quality of a book, of a scene, of a character, of a speech, with more consummate felicity than they. The winged and joyous imagination found its voice in them; and this through their example has been the strength, though hardly the staple, of later English criticism and literary history. But literary portraiture, in Sainte-Beuve's sense, was as little within their compass as literary history itself. It is only in brilliance that the 'Spirit of the Age' can for a moment be compared with the 'Causeries du Lundi'; and Hazlitt's brilliance is here perpetually of the kind which puts a heightened colour upon truth, while Sainte-Beuve's is arrived at simply in the search for perfectly precise and adequate expression. And if we look to the normal level of achievement, the French are still the masters of Europe in this as in the other two branches of the literary historian's art.

\* Werke (ed. Hempel), Bd xxviii, 197 f.

The literary history of to-day is thus a rich and composite heritage, with a great variety of methods, examples, and fructifying ideas, to which the three chief nations of western Europe have all contributed. Of this variety of methods, the works named at the head of this article are chosen as distinguished illustrative examples. We shall confine the discussion, however, to their handling of a single period, the Elizabethan; one which may well put the greatest literary historian on his mettle, while it is at the same time admirably calculated to bring out both the strength and the weakness of methods and points of view.

M. Jusserand's '*Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais*,' worthily crowns the series of his earlier English studies. As in the '*Wayfaring Life*,' in the '*Épopée Mystique*,' and even in the '*Elizabethan Novel*,' the interest in the life and growth of a great community, reflected in its literature, rather than any purely literary attraction, is the animating motive. Taine had painted the life of the English people with extraordinary brilliance, but only as the *milieu* of its literature. M. Jusserand, a devoted but original disciple, lifts the *milieu* into the forefront of the picture and disengages it altogether from the naturalistic theories of his master. Far better read than Taine in our literature, he uses his reading with incomparable aptness to enrich, stroke by stroke and touch by touch, his great portrait of the English people. As an historian of Elizabethan poetry and drama he unites the solid learning of a Courthope with a vivacious charm altogether his own. At the same time, it is precisely in this period that the difficulties and the snares incident to his method become clearly apparent. The literature of an age so crowded with writers of robust and versatile individuality lends itself less easily to the purpose of national portraiture than that of the tenth or even the fourteenth century. However fully it may be recognised that the national life itself has grown immensely richer and more complex, that the face to be painted offers far larger scope for variety of colour and subtlety of light and shade, yet in writing of such moment and originality as that of a Spenser and a Donne, a Bacon and a Shakespeare, there must inevitably be many traits which have chiefly individual value and which only disturb the larger

likeness. The portrayer is naturally disposed to minimise these intractable irrelevancies. He will be impatient of originalities barren for his purpose, and apply an acute analysis to lay bare the disguised convention, the unconfessed compliance, the reflection, merely distorted or obscured, of the general mind.

M. Jusserand hardly withstands this bias ; and against much illuminating interpretation of the social affinities of the literature he handles must be set some singular obliquities in his judgment of the literature itself. The doctrine of the audience or the public whose mind all literature that would succeed is bound to reflect—a doctrine as dangerous in criticism as it is powerful—does him, we will not say yeoman's service, but the service of a too zealous henchman who overacts his part. M. Jusserand forgets that literature often succeeds because it reflects not what the public is, but what it would like to be or to be thought—an ideal self, which the dramatic mirror persuades it that it has already become, or puts it in the way of becoming. This consideration is especially relevant to Spenser. 'On the publication of the "*Faerie Queene*,"' writes M. Jusserand, 'Spenser had realised his project, and fulfilled the expectation of instructed, powerful, and wealthy England, which was ready for a great poem and possessed none.' This is not untrue, but it is a very insufficient formula for the interpreter of the '*Faerie Queene*.' M. Jusserand obviously does not like Spenser ; and we shall not dwell upon a chapter which, though extraordinarily clever, is hardly worthy of the critical exponent of Langland's Vision, 'ten lines' of which he thinks worth more, as morality, than Spenser's whole poem.

For M. Jusserand, Spenser is a poet who flatters the aristocratic ear with an inexhaustible series of adventures rich in sensuous and sensual appeal clothed in exquisitely musical verse. He catalogues the 'ugly' places, enumerates the rapes, attempted and actual, finds consolation in their 'consequences,' and notes with amusement that all the chief figures, even the representative of 'chastity,' are in love. His French readers may be excused if some of them have taken the '*Faerie Queene*' to be a sort of Elizabethan '*Don Juan*.' The clue to critical collapses of this sort is that M. Jusserand refuses to recognise the



ethical Spenser who shared with the impassioned lover of beauty in the inspiration and conduct of the poem, who without doubt gravely damaged it, but without whom its heights of poetry would never have been reached. Plato was the master of both. The nauseous account of the slaying of Error, and the superb hymn to spiritual love (III, 4), would be equally impossible to a poet who had eyes only for sensuous beauty. The public which welcomed, in the 'Faerie Queene,' the great poem it was ready for, but did not possess, would probably have hailed an English 'Jerusalem Delivered' with more complete satisfaction. But Spenser expressed the heroic temper of the morrow of the Armada with unequalled magnificence, and has far more vitally to do with the history of the 'English people' than M. Jusserand would allow us to guess.

One of the most admirable pages in this History is the penetrating analysis of the temper and tastes of the Elizabethan theatre-goer, which opens the chapters on the Drama. By no other critic has this been done so well, or with so live a sense of the rare as well as of the gross qualities of these audiences. Yet the value of this gift to Elizabethan criticism is largely neutralised by the use its author proceeds to make of it. The mind of the Elizabethan audience, quick and responsive as in many points it was, was not as rich and manifold as the Elizabethan drama; and the attempt to interpret the drama as its reflection must lead to paradoxical results. The pressure of popular taste upon the dramatist was no doubt a very real and effective force, which the older criticism too often ignored. But the formula of 'compliance with the taste of the audience' is far too simple to describe the result. The greater dramatists 'complied,' if at all, in such a way as to save what they most valued in their art; and several of them, on occasion, took their public and its favourite fashions roughly to task. Not to speak of Jonson's hectoring prologues, there was not much 'compliance' in the fiery denunciation of 'the rhyming vein of jiggling mother-wits' with which Marlowe recommended his first play to its first audience. Marlowe, with his masterful temper, his daring originality, his superb artistry, is altogether a hazardous illustration of the theory; and M. Jusserand hardly escapes the hazards.

What is the meaning of Marlowe's vehement advocacy of blank verse? It was a movement, M. Jusserand explains, towards realism and nature.

'By means of blank verse dramatists can keep nearer to realities and to nature, and yet avoid platitude and vulgarity. Marlowe felt that this was the kind of poetry best suited to his public, just as parks in the English style suit England, and gardens *à la française* Versailles. We are, in France, for clear and straight lines,' etc. ('Lit. Hist.' iii, 139.)

This might passably describe the animus of the blank verse of Cowper; but to the temper of Marlowe's it has as little relevance as to the temper of Milton's. Marlowe's verse was the creation of a great artist, bent not upon any 'return to nature' or emancipation from uncomfortable restraint, but upon the capture of eternal beauty in the splendour and the music of speech. He derided his predecessors not because they were too artificial, but because they were not artists enough. And his own verse is obviously full of refined artifice, intricately interwoven alliterations, sonorous many-syllabled names, whose magnificence he seems to caress as they roll by.

Even the greatest of Elizabethans has to suffer for the excessive simplicity of M. Jusserand's formulas. His chapters on Shakespeare are full of brilliance, full too of keen and trenchant remark. He understands and explains everything; and the great enigmatic personality stands before us in the clearest of daylight, his riddle read, his inscrutable mask plucked off.

'Shakespeare is practical. Something of the skill with which he manages his Stratford estate is seen in his management of his genius. Looking round him he notes what veins of success can be profitably worked. He chooses for his plays, accordingly, mostly subjects already popular. Why run the risk of a strange story? For the same reason he usually leaves them as he finds them, with all their improbabilities. Why touch them? His public was satisfied; why be more fastidious than they? . . . For the same reason he continually repeats situations which have once pleased; jokes, characters, . . . or else he develops them in the direction indicated by his original, dark to black, virtuous to perfection, great to colossal; all to increase the contrasts dear to the crowd' (ib. 164).

There is a vein of truth in all this; but how little way it goes towards interpreting the known facts of

Shakespeare's career! If the Elizabethan crowd was to be propitiated by repetitions of what had once amused it, he must have been a highly provocative entertainer. If they cried 'encore,' it was his way to put them off with a totally different tune. They applauded 'Romeo and Juliet,' and he gave them, perhaps, a 'Taming of the Shrew;' 'Hamlet,' and he gave them 'Othello.' Was it in deference to his public that, after promising to feast them again on Falstaff, 'if you be not too much cloyed with fat meat,' in 'Henry V' he decided to keep him out of the action of that play?

However, it may be readily agreed that Shakespeare's art was based upon a *prima facie* acceptance of the public taste. He gave them what they wanted, the crowded plot, the mingled pathos and jest, the corpse-strewn stage, the romantic improbabilities. He was sometimes careless and gave them nothing more. But the most elementary Shakespeare-criticism recognises that, in all his serious work, these crude, popular devices are not merely reconciled with the harmony that all great art must achieve, but actually made to contribute to it. The caskets and the pound of flesh are pure fairy-tale. Another might have rationalised them into prose; Shakespeare, bating not a jot of their unreason, draws them up into the supreme reality of Portia and Shylock. M. Jusserand, learned and acute Shakespearean as he is, does not do justice to this side of Shakespeare's art. Missing the simple harmonies of Racine he sees merely accumulation, motley, diversity, *bigarrure*. 'The classical system and the system of Shakespeare,' he declares, 'are not only different, they are opposite.' He sees instead of the continuous, limpid unfolding of a story, a crowd of persons, many of them quite outsiders to the action, porters, pedlars, nurses, grave-diggers, who insist on talking to us of their own affairs; while the principal characters themselves are often 'so troubled with conflicting passions,' such 'mixtures of good and evil,' that 'we often no longer know where we are going, nor whom we should love.'

Let us hasten to add that M. Jusserand admits exceptions; in particular he has unbounded admiration for the artistry of 'Othello.' But 'Othello' is, in his sense, the most 'classical' of the great tragedies, and has always

won the enthusiastic homage of Latin critics. Here Shakespeare really sifts and selects, or at least his marvellous concentration makes it easy to imagine that he does. When M. Jusserand is dealing with dramas like 'Lear,' where the poet seems to riot in his prodigality of resource, he is less successful in discerning the finer economy and architectonic. The very keenness of his analytic scalpel betrays him into superfluous dissections. It is at the peril of being charged with inconsistency that the characters grow or change, that they have humours or moods; that they show themselves compounded of the angel and the fiend, or exhibit at different times the greatness and the littleness which Pascal found in the entire genus Man. At other times the real complexity of the characters, even of an entire drama, escapes the critic, he sees only a single aspect, and reduces them to excessively simple terms.

In his handling of 'Antony and Cleopatra,' this weakness is seen at its worst. For M. Jusserand this, 'the most wonderful of Shakespeare's dramas,' is merely the story of Antony's fall, the 'history of his vain attempts' to break loose from Cleopatra's spell; his fall is 'horrible'; and 'to increase the horror' Shakespeare 'has made of the Egyptian a low courtesan who knows the secrets of her trade and nothing else, who speaks its language, who has neither heart, nor mind, nor intellect, nor poetry, who is but flesh, and has no other instincts but those of her profession.' Certainly, in her 'infinite variety' Cleopatra has moments to which these words are not entirely inapt. When she 'threatens to give Charmian bloody teeth, or hales the messenger up and down by the hair,' Mr Bradley himself has allowed, with compunction and hesitation, that she 'resembles (if I dare say it) Doll Tearsheet sublimated.' But these moments, and many others, in which she appears in various ways mean or base, hardly count in our total feeling about her. She enchants us as she enchants Antony and all others—unless it be Octavius—who come within her sphere. And the enchantment is not merely a blinding spell; it springs also from the recognition that the baser elements in her are not the whole, that her earthy part is compounded with a spirit of 'fire and air,' that her coquetry can quicken into love, and her mocking wit into en-

thralling poetry; that she is in truth, with all her degrading and repellent traits, a wonderful, a 'sovereign creature'; and that the passion for which Antony loses the world, without ceasing to be a 'fall,' tragic in the ruin it brings, and in the desertion of a great political task which it involves, is nevertheless at the same time a triumph; so that the final note is one not of dejection or scorn but of exultation, and the victory seems to be with the lovers who have died, supreme in the moment of their deaths, while Cæsar, now the unchallenged master of the world, appears to remain possessor only of dust and ashes. 'Antony and Cleopatra' is perhaps of all the tragedies the least obviously 'Greek'; yet it is built, more clearly than almost any other, upon one of those conflicts between antagonistic forms of good in which Hegel saw the essence of Greek tragedy.

Sir Sidney Lee's latest work, 'The French Renaissance in England,' is the most elaborate and thorough recent study of Elizabethan literary sources, as M. Jusserand's second volume is the most brilliant study of the Elizabethan literary *milieu*. What is new in it could no doubt have been put into a much smaller book; but, when all is said, it remains a solid achievement, the fruit of indefatigable research and disciplined scholarship. We will not say that Dr Lee is exempt, any more than M. Jusserand, from the special dangers of his method. His 'French Renaissance,' like M. Jusserand's 'Elizabethan Audience,' usurps too large a share of the critic's field of view. But far more important, in his case, are the real gains which his concentrated and many-sided survey of it has brought. We can only glance at a few points.

Sixteenth century France and Elizabethan England had very many points of affinity. The sanguine exuberance of the Elizabethan temper, its hardihood in adventure and experiment, its joy in vivid expression and caressing music, its strain of deep seriousness and of infinite jest, found more congenial nourishment in the France of Rabelais, and Ronsard, and D'Aubigné, than, since Malherbe, her measured and logical genius has ever afforded to these qualities. In addition, French civilisation was, at every point, and notably in the culture of verse and prose, riper and more accomplished than our

own. These two conditions together made a promising field for pertinacious if unconfessed imitation, and ardent if unskilled discipleship.

Dr Lee makes it clear that Elizabethan prose and verse both owed a great debt to French example. Yet, in prose at least, the channels of definite and denotable influence are not very numerous. Rabelais's riotous exuberance of thought and phrase might have been expected to speak home to the whole generation of brilliant and hungry pamphleteers who thronged the London of Shakespeare. Yet, though Gargantua's mouth was a stock jest (Celia, it may be remembered, was fain to borrow it to keep pace with Rosalind's storm of questions), the book itself left deep impress in the writing of one Elizabethan only, Thomas Nashe; who indeed absorbed with immense gusto and no little skill whatever in it he could understand. Rabelais's lofty humanism naturally lay beyond his purview. The wonderfully supple and vivacious prose of Amyot had a higher and yet almost equally restricted fortune. That Amyot diversified and expanded the sober prose of Plutarch, and that many of his phrases passed over, through the medium of North, into the verse of Shakespeare's Roman plays, has long been known. But it is easy to make too much of this, as we think Dr Lee does when he declares that Amyot 'may almost be held responsible' for some of Shakespeare's most tragic passages. Between Plutarch, who gave the substance, and North, who found the words, and Shakespeare with his magical something of style and rhythm, Amyot's share appears to be somewhat highly assessed.

Montaigne, of all the great French prose-writers, seems to have most impressed the Elizabethans. 'Stealing from Montaignie' was, as we know from a sarcasm of Jonson's, a proverbial habit of English writers at the end of the century. But, apart from Gonzalo's famous Utopian patch, it is hard to bring the 'thefts' clearly home. Much of Montaigne's wisdom was in the air. Dr Lee treats this much-discussed matter with salutary caution. Even he, however, we think, overestimates the Montaignism of Bacon's 'Essays.' 'The word (Essay),' Bacon says, 'is late, but the thing is ancient.' And his management of these 'dispersed meditations' shows a

complete detachment from the ways of his predecessor. The close-knitted style and brevity of the earlier group of essays suggest a certain disdain for the 'divine chit-chat' of his predecessor; if the 'note of Montaigne's homely naturalness,' which Dr Lee hears throughout them, is ever heard, it is in those mellow last essays of his stately retirement at Gorhambury, when his own life had drawn into a certain resemblance to that of the French *seigneur*, but when his 'influence,' conscious or otherwise, is least of all to be supposed.

If the debt of our prose to France, though undoubted, is somewhat elusive, it was otherwise with the verse; and Dr Lee's fourth book, which gathers together a mass of scattered research, in great part already published, is a sterling contribution to our knowledge of the springs from which, or from amongst which, some of the greatest English poetry took its rise. The example of the *Pléiade* must rank as one of the chief shaping forces of Elizabethan lyric. That a Lodge and a Drummond translated and paraphrased wholesale is less to the purpose than that both Spenser and Shakespeare in their eager and curious youth evidently felt this fascination among others. That Spenser began his career by translating Du Bellay and a little later imitated Marot, has long been known; but a more precise measure is given of the French strain in his early poetry by the famous ode in the April Eclogue of 'The Shepherd's Calendar,' in particular by the charming flower-stanza towards the close, where both the theme, the subtly intricate lyric metre, and the very names of many of the flowers, hardly disguise their *Pléiade* origin. But the 'new poet' of 'The Shepherd's Calendar' was soon to pass on from these brilliant or wayward experiments to the great life-task of the 'Faerie Queene.'

That Shakespeare too, when he wrote his sonnets, probably in 1593-4, was well read in other men's sonnets, French as well as English, and that he did not always avoid motives, figures, or even phrases, that had been used before, is clear enough. Dr Lee, who has contributed most to make it so, deals more cautiously with these facts than he did in some of his earlier discussions. But he is still too much inclined to impale the creator of these wonderful poems upon the horns of an unjust



dilemma; to assume that the use in poetry, with whatever individuality, of motives or figures that have been used before, stamps it as insincere or rhetorical. The sonnet, when Shakespeare took it up, was already a highly conventional form, and had gathered a rich panoply of traditional imagery, sentiment and stylistic device, which belonged only less than its rhythm and its rhyme to the recognised resources of expression and effect. Would a poet who chose this conventional but potent and beautiful form as the vehicle of a real situation eschew all these other conventions incident to its use? Would he not rather take them up into his work and touch them to finer issues? But this is precisely what Shakespeare in his sonnets, as Dr Lee fully recognises, has done. Yet he makes few and somewhat grudging concessions to the 'real situation' theory of their origin. We are grateful for the admirable scholarship and penetrating research which has made the French contribution to Elizabethan literature so clear, but we do not think that it perceptibly affects the literary problem of the sonnets.

It is a grave loss to Elizabethan studies that no literary history of that great age, comparable to the splendid contributions of France, has yet been received from Germany. Ten Brink, the unequalled historian of our earlier literature, died just as he approached the age of Shakespeare which it was his highest ambition to paint; and Prof. Alois Brandl, who proposed to take up the task, and is the man in Germany most capable of it, appears to have indefinitely postponed it. The appetite of the German public has, in the meantime, been satisfied by popular handbooks, some of them incredibly bad. Intermediate, however, between the fabrications of the Engels and Koertings and the masterpiece of Ten Brink stands the solid and scholarly work of the late Richard Wülker. As the best existing German treatise it may be briefly noticed here. Its profusion of illustrations from portraits and documents would in any case give it definite value. As literary history its strength lies not in criticism but in information, and particularly in the *résumés* systematically given of all important works. The section on Shakespeare is executed throughout with

admirable thoroughness. The *résumés* are made with care and knowledge, and certainly provide the Wagners of literary study with something comfortably definite to carry home in their note-books; but it is a nice question whether the nature of the splendid October Eclogue, for instance, of 'The Shepherd's Calendar' is more fully conveyed to the reader by the dry information that it 'treats of the poetic art, which Cuddie praises as a divine gift, complaining, however, that it is no longer valued as of old, and especially lacks powerful patrons, than if the same number of words had been devoted to at least a hint of its impetuous eloquence, glowing imagery, and ringing verse. In such cases, however, the defect is only negative; and the merit of what is offered is, so far as it goes, unexceptionable. But we cannot acquit the historian of singular obtuseness or insufficiency in the passing judgments levelled at the minor stars whose 'contents' were not thought to merit tabulation. Donne is disposed of by the information that he is 'tumid and artificial.'

'He may be counted the last of the Euphuists. . . . His poems include, besides sacred ones, others that are extremely worldly. Of similar literary character were Richard Crashaw . . . and Richard Lovelace.'

The obvious could not be more bluntly stated, nor the essential more completely missed. It is needless to multiply examples of this kind of conscientious futility. They culminate in the paragraph devoted to Bacon, who appears to owe his admission to this History chiefly to his being an indispensable party in the great Shakespeare-Bacon controversy, to which two large pages are devoted; his literary character is summed up in the single sentence, 'in all his works he appears very clever, but also very dry.'

It remains to notice, finally, the great collaborative enterprise of the Cambridge Press, the Elizabethan section of which, planned with imposing breadth, is now complete. Many schools of training are represented among the authors. The philological scholarship of America and Germany, the more insistently literary and philosophic criticism of Oxford, the private erudition of

the detached men of letters, are seen at work, side by side, upon the same kind of problem; and the spectacle is full of interest to the student of the varieties of scholarly mind and method. Cambridge, the nurse of so many of the makers of Elizabethan literature, is more slightly represented among those who record it. Of the twenty-eight chapters on the drama, for instance, only six are the work of Cambridge men. But one of her representatives is the editor-in-chief, a host in himself.

Dr Ward is an historian as well as a man of letters; and the scheme of these volumes is generously comprehensive in regard to the social relations and appurtenances of literature. If any animus is to be found in them it is certainly not that of the rigidly literary scholarship which distinguishes severely between literature and writing, as Johnson distinguished between conversation and talk. Whatever the Elizabethans wrote—herbals, books of sport, manuals of devotion or of husbandry, or state papers—is all relevant; and the chapters describing these *biblia abiblia* are among the freshest and most useful of all. They help us little to understand the rare Elizabethans who created living drama or song; but they throw a vivid light upon the common Elizabethan who thronged the theatre, or tabooed it, who spent his last pence upon a ballad, or let hungry genius starve because he preferred a sermon or a bearbaiting to all these things. In a word the literary *milieu*, the audience and the public, while nowhere portrayed *de parti pris* in M. Jusserand's sense, is put before us in a series of detached but minutely accurate studies, from which a very luminous if still incomplete picture can be educed. The chapters on the Theatres (VI, 10), on the Book-trade (IV, 18), and the Libraries (IV, 19) are examples of such studies, the first summing up a mass of recent discussion and research. A higher place, however, belongs to the chapters (IV, 16; VII, 16) in which Prof. Routh of Toronto handles the 'Popular Literature' of satires, broadsides, pamphlets, tales. In this somewhat sordid, but picturesque and animated domain, the literature and the life of Elizabethan London beat close and vitally together; literary and social analysis have to go hand in hand, to fertilise and to supplement one another. No one, to our knowledge, has brought to these tangled and intricate underwoods of the

great Elizabethan forest a union of imaginative insight and scientific grip comparable to that displayed in these chapters.

But the supreme interest of Elizabethan literature lies, after all, in its galaxy of great writers. Of their lives, indeed, only fragments are, for the most part, known to us. Their works are their only monuments. For the refined interpenetration of criticism and biography, in Sainte-Beuve's sense, there is rarely an opening. None the less, the temper which he first brought into literary portraiture is perceptible in several of the studies, especially of the more evasive and enigmatic figures. Among others, Mr A. Symons's 'Middleton and Rowley' and Prof. Vaughan's 'Webster and Tourneur' belong to the highest rank of penetrating criticism and luminous exposition, widely as the writers differ in mental habit and point of view. And many other sections are marked by a scholarship at once sober and refined, which weighs discriminatingly the accretions of phrase and attribute that have gathered about most Elizabethan names during half-a-century of discussion not always on this side of idolatry. Excellent in this way are Prof. Gregory Smith's judicious handling of Marlowe, a conspicuous sufferer from that process; and Prof. Neilson's analysis of the 'decadence' of Ford. In the case of the greatest of Elizabethans a rare combination of all these qualities was called for. Prof. Saintsbury's Shakespeare chapters are a tissue of lively and acute judgments, but they resemble rather a critical review of the works than a constructive appreciation; and the criticisms, always flavoured with personality and instinct with conviction, are often too purely individual to find a place quite fitly in a work intended to represent, as far as may be, the critical and scholarly mind of this generation of Englishmen. But we would not close upon a note of disparagement; and it is hardly a slur upon the most prolific literary worker among the English scholars of our time, to suggest that his gifts fit him better to guide the chariot than to draw in the team, though the reins were handled by 'Nous' himself.

C. H. HERFORD.

## Art. 4.—CAVOUR AND THE MAKING OF ITALY.

1. *The Life and Times of Cavour.* By W. R. Thayer. Two vols. London: Constable, 1911.
2. *The Dawn of Italian Independence.* By W. R. Thayer. Two vols. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1893.
3. *Garibaldi's Defence of the Roman Republic. Garibaldi and the Thousand. Garibaldi and the Making of Italy.* By G. M. Trevelyan. London: Longmans, 1907-11.
4. *Cavour.* By Countess E. Martinengo-Cesaresco. London: Macmillan, 1898.
5. *A History of Italian Unity.* By Bolton King. Two vols. London: Nisbet, 1899.
6. *Historical Essays and Studies.* By Lord Acton. London: Macmillan, 1907.
7. *Il Risorgimento Italiano. Conferenze.* By Costanzo Rinaudo. Two vols. Turin: Olivero, 1910.

AMID a chorus of congratulation Italy celebrated, during the past year, the Jubilee of her 'resurrection' as a united nation. The sympathetic good-will evoked by this event is entirely intelligible. No other political movement of the nineteenth century touched the imagination of mankind in the same degree as the Italian *Risorgimento*. Owing partly, perhaps, to the romantic halo which hovers over everything Italian, partly to the heroic stature of the leading actors in the immediate drama, partly to the rising sentiment of nationality in Europe at large, the prolonged struggles of the Italian peoples for the attainment of independence and unity were watched with unusual sympathy in many a foreign land; but nowhere, it is safe to say, with so much enthusiasm as in our own country. The prevailing sentiment in England is faithfully reflected by Mr Lecky, a typical writer of the Victorian era:

'The mingled associations of a glorious past and of a noble present, the genuine and disinterested enthusiasm that so visibly pervaded the great mass of the Italian people, the genius of Cavour, the romantic character and career of Garibaldi, and the inexpressible charm and loveliness of the land which was now rising into the dignity of nationhood, all contributed to make the Italian movement unlike any other of our time. It was the one moment of nineteenth-

century history when politics assumed something of the character of poetry.' ('Democracy and Liberty,' i, 407, 408.)

In regard to the celebrations of 1911 there is one question which may not unreasonably be asked, and which it may be well, therefore, to anticipate. Were they not somewhat premature? Would not 1921 have been a more appropriate date? It is true that it was on February 18, 1861, that a parliament, for the first time representative of all parts of Italy except Venice and Rome, assembled at Turin. Then for the first time was Victor Emmanuel proclaimed, by the grace of God and by the will of the nation, King of Italy. But the work was still woefully incomplete. In the web of Italian unity there were still two gaping rents. The Austrians were still in Venetia; the French troops were still protecting the remnant of the Temporal Power in Rome. To the quick imagination of the Italian peoples, but lately emancipated from foreign yokes, and still more lately united, the Temporal Power seemed like a spear-point embedded in a living body. Garibaldi and Mazzini, flouting all the worldly wisdom of the diplomats, were eager to make an immediate assault upon Rome. Even Cavour was moved to declare that 'without Rome for a capital Italy can never be firmly united.' Not, however, until 1870 was the Tricolour hoisted on the palace of the Capitol; and not until June 2, 1871, did Victor Emmanuel, accepting the verdict of a *plébiscite* all but unanimous, make his triumphal entry into Rome.

Must we then conclude that the Italian Government have been precipitate in celebrating the Jubilee of Unification in 1911? On the contrary, it may be taken as certain that history will endorse a decision due, perhaps, rather to the promptings of political instinct than to the considered judgment of the publicists. In three ways the year 1861 will be for ever memorable in the history of the Italian *Risorgimento*. It witnessed, as we have said, the meeting of the first truly Italian parliament; it marked the consummation of the romantic career of Garibaldi, the recognition of his distinctive contribution to the work of unification; above all, it was darkened by the irreparable loss of him who, without disparagement of others, must be regarded as the master-builder of the edifice of Italian unity. His countrymen of to-

day have, therefore, obeyed a true historical instinct in deciding to commemorate the Jubilee of their country's birth in the fiftieth anniversary year of their greatest statesman's death.

In view of these facts it is singularly appropriate that the closing months of 1911 should have enriched English historical literature with two works of first-rate importance. Of Mr G. M. Trevelyan's work it is unnecessary to give any elaborate critical account. His Garibaldian trilogy, happily completed by the recent publication of 'Garibaldi and the Making of Italy,' has not only been received with an unusual degree of popular favour, but has at the same time satisfied the most exacting canons of scientific criticism. In ease and simplicity of style, and in the setting of the picture—the background of European politics and diplomacy—the third volume improves even on its two brilliant predecessors. Happy indeed the man who can win the applause of the many without forfeiting the esteem of the learned few; but such has been the singular, though not undeserved, good fortune of Mr Trevelyan.

The author of the second and even more important work is Mr William Rosecoe Thayer, of Harvard, already favourably known to students of *Risorgimento* history by his 'Dawn of Italian Independence,' and destined to become known to a much wider circle by his 'Life and Times of Cavour.' 'There could be no more fitting memorial of this jubilee year of United Italy than an adequate life of the greatest of Italian statesmen.' Thus wrote the 'Times' on June 6, 1911. Mr Thayer's book comes happily to fill the gap. The work is obviously the fruit of patient and prolonged research; it is scholarly in method, and it presents a faithful and glowing portrait of the central figure. But it is not without conspicuous faults. It is disfigured, as literature, by occasional blemishes of style and, what is more serious, by a not infrequent narrowness of judgment. Mr Thayer is determined to deal faithfully with the occupants of thrones, whether hereditary or acquired. He is the reverse of flattering to the Emperor Francis Joseph and to 'Victoria and Albert,' but against Napoleon III his animus is particularly marked. For him there is not a respectable feature in Napoleon's 'long career, chequered



as it was by tragedy and ridicule, garish with false glory, turgid with counterfeit greatness, mottled with crime and guile.\* Of the Emperor Francis Joseph we learn that,

'though he had escaped that blight of imbecility by which various sons of the House of Hapsburg were expiating the sins of their fathers, his force, whether of intellect or of character, hardly rose above mediocrity. . . . Reaction was his religion. . . . He believed absolutely that the Almighty made the world in order that the sovereigns of Hapsburg might enjoy by divine right a large portion of it.'†

Queen Victoria possessed an 'unsubtle, commonplace nature';‡ and 'she loved flattery always, and expected obsequiousness in Prime Ministers even'§—a judgment strangely at variance with that of John Bright, who thought the Queen 'the most absolutely truthful person' he had ever known. For popes Mr Thayer has as little respect as for kings and queens. So distinguished a scholar might have been expected to rise superior to the temptation of vindicating his own republican independence by sneers at the unfortunate occupants of thrones in other countries, and, by implication, at those who happen to prefer monarchical to republican forms of government.

But the blemishes of the work, though irritating, are mostly on the surface, and might be removed without injury to anything but a few of the more deeply-hued purple patches. Its merits, on the contrary, are essential and fundamental. Englishmen, in particular, owe a great debt to Mr Thayer for providing them, for the first time, with an English biography of Cavour which is at once critical in method and adequate in scale. Immediately after Cavour's death Mr Edward Dicey published a memoir which served well enough as an interim appreciation. In the same year Lord Acton published his brilliant and penetrating, but strangely prejudiced essay. Treitschke presented his countrymen with a portrait of Cavour in 1871; and in 1887 Mazade published in French the work which has been regarded as the standard 'Life.' Bianchi's great work was published at Turin in 1885; and about the same time seven volumes of Cavour's letters were edited by Chiala. English readers have

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\* Thayer, ii, 13.    † Ib. ii, 95-6.    ‡ Ib. i, 364.    § Ib. ii, 84.

hitherto had to rely mainly on the Countess Cesaresco's 'Cavour'—an admirable little book, which Mr Thayer praises, without exaggeration, as 'a model of crystalline interpretation;' but not until the last two months has there been erected in English materials a monument worthy of the greatest European statesman of the nineteenth century. To commemorate this memorable achievement, happily coincident with the Italian Jubilee, is the primary purpose of the pages that follow.

Count Camillo Benso di Cavour was born at Turin on August 10, 1810. He belonged by descent to one of the smallest and proudest aristocracies in Europe. His father was Michele Benso, Marquis of Cavour; and in his veins ran the blood of 'twenty generations of Piedmontese ancestors.' But Cavour owed more to his mother, a Genevan Calvinist, than to his Piedmontese father. 'The old-fashioned political Calvinism of Geneva, which moulded the character of Guizot, exercised from a very early age,' as Lord Acton shrewdly and justly remarks, 'a profound influence upon Cavour.'\* Adèle de Sellon, Cavour's mother, was the daughter of a remarkable Huguenot family which had long been settled in Geneva. Her brother, Jean Jacques, was 'the friend and associate of reformers in France and England,' and was himself known as 'the Swiss Wilberforce.' Of such stock did Cavour come. As a second son he was destined for the army, and at the age of ten was sent to the Military Academy at Turin. While there he served as a page in the household of Charles Albert, then Prince of Carignano. Cavour, however, disliked the Prince; and the Prince mistrusted Cavour. At sixteen, emerging from the Academy with the highest honours in science and mathematics, he entered the Engineers; but a soldier's life was never congenial to him, while at home he found himself out of sympathy with the reactionary views which rendered his father a *persona grata* at the restored sub-alpine Court. Before he was twenty he learnt English, and read deeply in Adam Smith and Bentham, then nearing the zenith of their influence and popularity. Intellectually, 'his one safety valve was his intercourse

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\* 'Historical Essays,' p. 175.

with his Genevan relations.\* In 1830 he was sent to Genoa, where he frequented the salons of the advanced Liberals, much elated, just then, by the success of the July revolution in Paris. But, though confessing himself to his uncle (Sellon) as 'Liberal, very Liberal, desiring a complete change of system,' Cavour, then as always, 'recoiled with equal loathing from absolutists and Jacobins.'† Early in 1831 he was ordered to the fortress of Bard, in the Val D'Aosta—an order rightly interpreted as 'equivalent to an arrest.' In 1831 he got his discharge from the army, and was recalled from exile only to be sent off again by his father to manage one of the family farms in a remote country district.

For the next seventeen years Cavour devoted himself, mind and body, to practical agriculture, first at Grinzane, afterwards on the great family estate at Leri. The lonely life, and still more the conviction that (at twenty-two!) his political life was over before it was begun, induced deep dejection, with remote hints of suicide. Gradually, however, his eminently practical mind was gripped by the intrinsic interest of agricultural work. Frequent visits to his maternal relations in Switzerland kept him in touch with the most advanced intellectual thought of the day, while more than one sojourn in Paris and two visits to England gave him the opportunity—amply redeemed—of estimating the strength and direction of the main currents of contemporary politics.

To Cavour England appeared to be 'the vanguard of civilisation'; and of English politics—in the broadest sense—he made a study which may fairly be described as profound. Already in 1834 he had prepared—as a member of the Piedmontese Statistical Commission—a Report on the English Poor Law; and he had not been in England many weeks, in 1835, before he wrote to a friend a letter which contained 'a remarkable survey of English politics.' In 1843 he was back again in England, and visited Scotland and Ireland as well. The fruits of his observations were revealed in articles contributed to various magazines and reviews, notably to the '*Bibliothèque Universelle de Genève*.' For this famous review he wrote '*Considérations sur l'état actuel de l'Irlande*'

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\* Thayer, i, 15.

† Ib. i, 24.

(1844), and 'De la Question relative à la Législation anglaise sur le commerce des céréales' (1845). In the former, which is distinguished by characteristic sobriety of thought and diction, he showed himself a strong opponent of Repeal and a penetrating critic of statesmen living and dead. The article on the Corn Laws revealed Cavour as a strong free-trader and an ardent disciple of Adam Smith. Of even greater value to Cavour and to his country than his reasoned views on political unions and fiscal policy was the experience he gained of parliamentary tactics and procedure, and his intimate converse with distinguished publicists. Night after night, the young Piedmontese, destined to be the real founder of parliamentary government in Italy, was to be seen in the Strangers' Gallery of the House of Commons, following with rapt attention the debates, and closely observing the rules of procedure, the methods of conducting public business and the tactics of party leaders. No training could have been more appropriate for Cavour.

For the time being, however, he was to all appearance absorbed in his farming work. 'I have become,' he writes in July 1835, 'an agriculturist for good'; and to such excellent purpose that he restored prosperity to his family and made a large fortune for himself. Nor did he ever lose sight of the larger issues. In 1842 he helped to found the *Associazione Agraria*—a society which afterwards became, as Acton says, 'an important channel and instrument of political influence.' Five years later a more definitely political step was taken by starting, in conjunction with Santo Rosa, Cesare Balbo, and others, 'Il Risorgimento,' a journal devoted to the advocacy of constitutional reform. The programme of the 'constitutional party' at this time was briefly but pregnantly stated as follows: 'Independence of Italy, union between the princes and the peoples, progress in the path of reform, and a league between the Italian States.'

For some time Cavour had no chance of putting his principles into practice. His opportunity came with the Revolution of 1848. There was agitation in Italy even before the startling news came from Paris that the Citizen Monarchy had been overthrown and the Second Republic proclaimed. To understand the political situa-

tion and the policy of Cavour a few words of retrospect are essential.

For the last thirteen years Italy had been a prey to almost unbroken reaction. The diplomatists who disposed the fortunes of Europe in 1815 attempted to restore in Italy the *status quo ante* Napoleon. To Italy Napoleon had brought, if not the promised boon of liberty, at least good administration, and an approach to unity; but the Congress of Vienna made short work of Napoleonic Italy. Austria carved out for herself a Lombardo-Venetian principality; the ex-Empress Marie Louise (an Austrian Archduchess) was installed at Parma, with cadets of the Austrian house in Modena and Tuscany; the Bourbon King Ferdinand was restored to the two Sicilies; the Pope once more gripped middle-Italy; the republic of Genoa was tossed to Victor Emmanuel I, already King of Sardinia and Duke of Savoy and Piedmont. But, despite the triumph of the dynastic principle, the Italy of 1815 was not the Italy of 1789. As Mazzini said ('Works,' iii, 234): 'Notwithstanding our dependence on the French Empire, and despite war, the feeling of nationality specially incorporated in our brave army elevated our souls, picturing in the distance the oneness of Italy, the goal of all our efforts.'

That goal was still far distant. The reaction which dominated Italy from 1815 to 1848 was broken only by sporadic and seemingly fruitless insurrections. Metternich stood steadfastly sentinel over the settlement of 1815. The Carbonari raised insurrections in Naples and in Piedmont in 1821; the Parisian revolution in 1830 fanned into flame the revolutionary embers in Parma, Modena and the Papal States; Mazzini himself headed an ill-organised attack upon Savoy in 1833. Still Metternich's power was unbroken; and the main result of these occasional insurrections was to rivet more firmly than ever the Austrian yoke upon the Italian provinces, and to strengthen her hold upon the petty princes, whose thrones she upheld and whose policy she dictated.

Nevertheless, apart from the efforts of Mazzinian fanatics, there was movement in Italy. In 1842 Gioberti published 'Del Primato morale e civile degli Italiani,' in which he put forward a proposal for the formation of an Italian Confederation under the presidency of the Papacy

—the idea which inspired Napoleon's policy at Villafranca. In 1844 Cesare Balbo proposed that Austria should surrender Lombardy and Venice in return for a free hand in the Balkan Peninsula. A year later Massimo D'Azeglio published 'The Happenings in the Romagna.' These men were not revolutionary fanatics, but Liberal Conservatives; and substance appeared to be given to their dreams when in 1846 Pius IX was elected to the papal chair. The Neo-Guelphs jumped to the conclusion that the millennium had dawned for Italy. But Rome was not equal to the opportunity which for a moment seemed to be within her grasp; the reforming ardour of Pius IX quickly evaporated; and the Papacy sank back into reaction. 'I am convinced,' wrote D'Azeglio in 1847, 'the magic of Pio Nono will not last. He is an angel, but he is surrounded by demons; he has a disordered State and corrupt elements, and he will not be able to combat the obstacles.' D'Azeglio's prediction was speedily fulfilled. Nevertheless, there was promise of reform in many of the Italian States, particularly in Piedmont.

In January 1848 Cavour came out into the open and petitioned Charles Albert to 'remove the controversy from the dangerous arena of irregular agitation to a scene of legal, peaceful discussion.'

'What is the good' (he said to his friends) 'of reforms which lead to no conclusion and terminate nowhere? Let us demand a constitution. Since the Government can no longer be maintained on the bases which have hitherto sustained it, let it replace them by others conformable to the spirit of the times . . . before it is too late, before social authority falls into dissolution amid the clamours of the people.'

It was a characteristic utterance; but hardly had it been made when news reached Turin which caused all ideas of a mere *Statuto* for Piedmont to be flung aside in favour of a national movement. In February the Republic was proclaimed in France; in March the revolutionary contagion reached Vienna. Metternich was driven into exile; and it seemed as if the hour of Italy's deliverance had struck. Before the end of March the Austrians were driven out of Milan; in Venice the Republic was proclaimed under the presidency of Daniel Manin; Charles Albert placed himself at

the head of the national movement and flung defiance at Austria; Parma, Piacenza, Modena, Lombardy and Venetia all united themselves by *plébiscite* to the Sardinian Kingdom. The union of all northern Italy under the hegemony of Sardinia seemed in a moment to have been achieved.

The forces of reaction were, however, still too strong. Charles Albert, who on the advice of Cavour had declared war on Austria, was forced to his knees at Custoza and compelled to accept an armistice. Renewing the war in 1849, he again found himself no match for the veteran Radetsky, and, defeated at Novara, he abdicated in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel. On the outbreak of the revolution Pius IX had fled from Rome, and a Republic had been proclaimed. But, despite the statesmanship of Mazzini and the gallantry of Garibaldi, Rome could not hold out against the French army despatched by the Republic to the succour of the Pope. The city was taken by Oudinot, and Pius IX was restored. Venice held out against the Austrians until August; but in the autumn of 1849 the chains were once more riveted on the necks of the Italian peoples. Austria was again supreme throughout northern and central Italy; the vassal princes crept back under her protection to their petty principalities; even Piedmont lay prostrate for the moment under the crushing defeat of Novara. The last state of Italy seemed worse than the first. In reality, it was far otherwise. The events of 1848-9 did signal service to the cause of Italian unity. They shattered the Republican ideal of Mazzini, and concentrated the hopes of all Italian patriots on Sardinia and her young king. The northern campaign, as J. A. Symonds well said, 'baptized the cause of Italian independence with the best blood of Piedmont; it gave it a royal martyr; and it pledged the dynasty of Savoy to a progressive policy from which it never afterwards deviated.' And this fact was gradually recognised.

'Except the young sovereign who rules Piedmont, I see no one in Italy' (wrote Gioberti in his 'Rinnovamento' in 1851) 'who could undertake our emancipation. Instead of imitating Pius, Ferdinand (of Naples) and Leopold (of Tuscany), who violated their sworn compacts, he maintains his with religious observance—vulgar praise in other times, but to-day not small, being contrary to example.'



The praise was not undeserved. Victor Emmanuel, undeterred by the terrible circumstances under which he took up the sceptre laid down by his father, set himself steadfastly 'to heal the wounds of our country, to consolidate our liberal institutions.' The difficulties in the path of a sovereign who desired to be 'constitutional' were not slight. The Piedmontese had no experience of self-government; and during the first eighteen months of the new régime there were three Parliaments and no less than eight changes of Government. At length, after many experiments, the young king had the wisdom to confide his affairs to the one man capable of guiding them to a successful issue.

Cavour had been elected to the first Sardinian parliament in 1848; he was appointed Minister of Commerce and Agriculture in 1850; in 1851 he took over, in addition, the administration of the Navy and the charge of the Finances. He was not popular either with king or people, the general view being that, though able, he was crafty and unscrupulous. Detesting the extremes of revolution and reaction, he was mistrusted, like most moderates, by men of all parties; but, despite all opposition, he rapidly pushed on the work of administrative, commercial and fiscal reform, and in 1852 became Prime Minister of Sardinia. His programme on taking office is thus succinctly stated by himself:

'Piedmont must begin by raising herself, by re-establishing in Europe, as well as in Italy, a position and a credit equal to her ambition. Hence there must be a policy unswerving in its aims but flexible and various as to the means employed, embracing the exchequer, military reorganisation, diplomacy, and religious affairs.'

'Re-establishing her credit in Europe.' Cavour's chance of doing this came in 1854; but it needed a statesman of extraordinary courage and astuteness to seize it. Despite the opposition of his colleagues, but firmly supported by his sovereign, Cavour determined to send a Sardinian army to fight side by side with the two Western Powers in the Crimea. It was seemingly a crazy enterprise; but Cavour's rashness was always the result of prudent calculation. His enemies rejoiced, believing that both he and his sovereign—nay, the whole

cause of the monarchy—would be fatally discredited. Cavour was conscious that he was playing for high stakes, but he was confident of victory. 'You have the future of the country in your haversacks'—so he wrote to La Marmora. The soldiers were aware of their high responsibility. 'Out of this mud,' said one of them in the trenches before Sebastopol, 'Italy will be made.' It was. Cavour's calculations were precisely fulfilled. In the Battle of the Tchernaja the gallant Sardinians covered themselves with glory. The stain of Novara was wiped out. In the Congress of Paris Cavour claimed a place. The diplomatic position of Sardinia was established. At the end of 1855 Cavour and his sovereign paid a visit to the allied Courts of Paris and London. 'This journey,' wrote Cavour, 'has confirmed the constitutional system; it is the equivalent of ten years of life.\* Even more important was the result of the Congress of Paris. Here are Cavour's own characteristic estimates :

'The Italian question has become for the future a European question. The cause of Italy has not been defended by demagogues, revolutionists and party men, but has been discussed before the Congress by the plenipotentiaries of the Great Powers.† And again: 'Two facts will remain, which are not without some importance. First, the stigma branded on the conduct of the King of Naples by France and England in the face of united Europe; and, second, the condemnation aimed by England at the clerical government in terms as precise and energetic as the most zealous Italian patriot could have desired.‡

Mr Thayer is surely right in the verdict he pronounces upon the Crimean episode: 'posterity will look back to it as one of the most brilliant strokes of statecraft in the nineteenth century.'§ It was undeniably the turning-point in the fortunes of Cavour, of Sardinia, and of Italy. Hitherto Sardinia had been regarded as one of many Italian States; not the largest, nor the wealthiest, nor the best established. Cavour himself had hardly been distinguished from the crowd of Italian 'patriots' or revolutionaries who were anathema to the respectable European Courts and Chancelleries. After 1856 things

\* Thayer, i, 368.

† Acton, *op. cit.*, p. 189.

‡ Thayer, i, 386.

§ *Op. cit.* i, 333.

were different. Sardinia was a 'Power'; Cavour was recognised as among the ablest of European diplomatists. At Paris he had withstood Austria to the face, and had denounced in open congress the hideous misgovernment which prevailed in Naples and in the Romagna. He had enlisted the sympathy of England and had all but secured the alliance of France.

The seed sown at Paris in 1856 fructified at Plombières in 1858. The astute diplomatist threw his net over the whilom conspirator who now sat upon the Imperial throne of France. The motives which inspired the Italian policy of Napoleon III have been frequently canvassed and still remain obscure. They would not have been Napoleon's had they not been complex and contradictory. He was not wholly the 'vulpine knave,' pictured and denounced by Garibaldi. He was not wholly anything. But he was genuinely attracted to Italy; and one of his first acts as President was to send a French army to Rome to succour the Pope and foil the efforts of the Republican conspirators with whom he had formerly consorted. It pleased the French clericals, but it was the first of several contradictory miscalculations which eventually brought him to Sedan.\* In Paris Cavour dangled the bait before his eyes with consummate adroitness. Had not the Italian campaign of 1796 revealed to Europe the military genius of the first Napoleon? What better field for the display of the genius of his nephew? Napoleon I had posed as the 'liberator' of Italy, and had actually gone far to promote its unity. Might not Napoleon III win still more enduring fame by accomplishing the purpose professed by his predecessor? Could the Third Empire be sustained without the glamour of successful war? What foeman better worthy of his steel than Austria?

Whatever may have been the precise bait offered by Cavour, it was swallowed by Napoleon. The understanding arrived at in Paris was confirmed, despite or possibly because of the inauspicious Orsini episode, at Plombières. Austria was to be expelled from the Peninsula; and northern and central Italy were to be united

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\* Cf. Thayer, i, 176, and MM. Bourgeois and Clermont, 'Rome et Napoléon III.'

under the House of Savoy. In return, Savoy was to be ceded to France, and perhaps Nice as well; and Victor Emmanuel was to give his daughter in marriage to the Emperor's cousin, Prince Jerome. Both sacrifices were painful, but Cavour was convinced that the dead-weight of the Austrian incubus could not be lifted without foreign help. England, though prodigal of sympathy, was adamant against intervention. France was the only hope; and Napoleon's terms, therefore, had to be accepted.

In January 1859 Europe was startled by the news that Napoleon, at his New Year's Day reception, had addressed the Austrian Ambassador as follows: '*Je regrette que les relations entre nous soient si mauvaises.*' It was a bolt from the blue. Still more startling were the words of Victor Emmanuel when, on January 10, he opened Parliament at Turin:

'Our country, small in territory, has acquired credit in the councils of Europe because she is great in the idea she represents, in the sympathy she inspires. The situation is not free from peril, for, while we respect treaties, we cannot be insensible to the cry of anguish which comes to us from many parts of Italy.'

The significance of the words was instantly apprehended; and Massari, an eye-witness of the scene in the Chamber, declares the effect of them to have been electric. Diplomacy did its best to avert war, but on April 23 Austria demanded that Sardinia should disarm. Cavour instantly accepted the challenge; and three weeks later Victor Emmanuel welcomed at Genoa the 'magnanimous ally' who had come to 'liberate Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic.' Exactly nine weeks later he started home again. In Turin the traitor of Villafranca 'met an arctic chill.' 'Thank God he's gone,' was Victor Emmanuel's exclamation, after bidding his ally farewell.

As to the campaign itself, Mr Thayer subjects the accounts given in the French despatches to searching criticism, which it is impossible here to follow in detail. Magenta, San Martino and Solferino have been generally accepted as resounding victories for the allies. With a more equal distribution of luck the issue, according to Mr Thayer, might easily have been different. As it was, the victor stopped short after Solferino and sought

an armistice from the vanquished; on July 8 the two Emperors, after personal negotiations, came to terms. Italy was to be free not to the Adriatic but only to the Mincio; Austria was to retain Venetia and the Quadri-lateral; Lombardy was to be annexed to Piedmont; Leopold of Tuscany and Francis of Modena were to be restored, 'but without recourse to force'; Italy was to be united in a confederation under the honorary presidency of the Pope.

The truce of Villafranca has been endlessly discussed; and, though Mr Thayer canvasses every point with conscientious thoroughness, it cannot be said that he throws much fresh light upon one of the dark places of history. That Napoleon had good grounds for ending the war is no longer disputed. French financiers were already grumbling at the enormous cost of the war; the politicians saw no recompense in sight; the Austrians, though driven back behind the Mincio, were not really beaten. Much to his own disgust, Napoleon found himself abetting the Revolution in Italy; to the dismay of the Empress and the clericals, his success in the north was endangering the position of the Pope; the English Government was regarding with increasing suspicion the Italian adventure of the French Emperor; Prussia was actually mobilising with a view to an offer of 'mediation.' The last-named development was not less alarming to the Austrian Emperor than to Napoleon. It was, indeed, the determining factor in his acceptance of the proffered terms. 'The gist of the thing is,' wrote Moltke to his brother, 'that Austria would rather give up Lombardy than see Prussia at the head of Germany.'\*

Mr Thayer, despite his obvious dislike of Napoleon, has a sound appreciation of his Italian policy:

'Nothing' (he writes) 'can be clearer now than that Napoleon was justified by the interests of France and of his dynasty in stopping the war. "To serve Italian independence," he told the dignitaries of France on his return to St Cloud, "I made war against the wish of Europe; as soon as the fate of my country seemed to be imperilled I made peace." . . . We need not charge Napoleon with premeditated deceit, much less with deliberate treachery. . . . He had indeed broken down the

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\* Thayer ii, 101.

dam behind which for forty years the rising flood of national desire had been pent up. The rush of waters startled him; he foresaw that they might sweep out of his control.\*

Victor Emmanuel strove to do justice to his ally, and never in his whole career showed himself more truly great than in the terrible days after the signature of the truce of Villafranca. If Napoleon's end was justified, the means he adopted were detestable. He treated his Italian allies shamefully. Nevertheless, hurt and indignant as he was, Victor Emmanuel possessed that clarity of vision and steadiness of judgment which enabled him to perceive that much had been accomplished. 'The political unity of Italy,' he said, 'since Novara a possibility, has become, since Villafranca, a necessity.'

It was otherwise with Cavour. For the first and only time in his life he completely lost his head. It is not difficult to understand and to forgive him. The French alliance and the war of 1859 were his work. He hoped to secure from it 'the expulsion of the Austrians, the expansion of Piedmont, a union in Central Italy.' What it actually achieved was far less—and more. This truth Victor Emmanuel perceived; Cavour, in his anger, did not. He wanted his master to repudiate the armistice, to decline the gift of Lombardy, to continue the war alone, 'to fall, if it must be, with reputation unsullied.' The King's good sense prevailed over the Minister's temporary madness. 'I am as furious as he over this peace, but I don't lose my compass; I don't lose my reason.' Within six months Cavour acknowledged his error and his debt to the Emperor of the French.

'How many germs contained in the treaty of Villafranca have developed in marvellous fashion! The political campaign which followed the peace of Villafranca has been as glorious for the Emperor, and more advantageous for Italy than the military campaign which preceded it. . . . He has thereby earned the right to be classed among the greatest benefactors of mankind.' (Cavour to Prince Napoleon, Jan. 25, 1860.)

We recall with regret Cavour's temporary lapse of judgment, but there is another point on which it is even more essential to insist. While Victor Emmanuel

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\* *Ib.* II, 115-117.

and Napoleon were fighting the Austrians, Cavour had an infinitely delicate diplomatic campaign to conduct with the European Courts on one side, and with the States of Central Italy on the other. No sooner was the war declared between Sardinia and Austria than there ensued in Central Italy, in Mr Thayer's phrase, a 'stampede to unity.' In Tuscany, Modena, Parma and Piacenza the alien rulers were expelled, and the peoples declared for fusion with Piedmont. Bologna and the Romagna were not behind the Duchies in their enthusiasm. Cavour had a difficult game to play, but he played it with consummate skill. Nothing must be done to check the enthusiasm of the inhabitants of the Duchies or of Romagna, but nothing could be risked which would endanger the French Alliance. Cavour more than half suspected Napoleon's design of setting up a separate kingdom in Central Italy, perhaps for Prince Napoleon. He was fully aware of the susceptibilities of the French clericals and his ally's dependence upon their support. It is not too much to say that, but for the singular adroitness of his diplomacy at this most critical juncture, Napoleon's intervention in Italy might have had an entirely different sequel, and Italy might to-day present the spectacle of a loosely federated State—perhaps republican in form—instead of a unitary kingdom.

As regards the European Courts, his task was of a different but not less difficult nature.

'Cavour's efforts during May and June aimed' (as Mr Thayer well says) 'at preventing the ruler of tiny Piedmont from becoming merely the vassal of the mighty Emperor of France. The European cabinets acted almost as if Victor Emmanuel were a negligible quantity. When they negotiated, it was with Paris and not with Turin; and they believed that, at the day of settlement, Napoleon would order and the King would obey. They assumed that the kingdom of Upper Italy, won by French arms, would be, in fact, whatever it might pretend to be, merely an appanage of the French Empire. This was what Cavour strove to prevent: this was what his connivance in the patriotic revolutions did prevent' (ii, 105).

After Villafranca, Cavour was for a few months out of office; luckily he was not out of power. For they were critical months in the history of Italian unity. There was no certainty as to what would happen to the Central



Italian States. The inhabitants themselves, as we have seen, were all for fusion with the Sardinian Monarchy; and Cavour's agents in the several states were all working devotedly towards this end. Would Victor Emmanuel venture to accept such an accession of territory? Would the fusion be permitted by the Powers? The official arrangement at Villafranca was that the Hapsburg-Lorraine and Bourbon Dukes should be 'restored,' but 'without recourse to force.' Napoleon was understood to favour the formation of a Kingdom of Central Italy; but who was to be its King? It was indeed fortunate that at this moment Cavour was served by such men as Ricasoli at Florence, and that he was able to rely on the strong moral support of the Liberal English Ministry which had lately come into power. To the latter Mr Thayer pays a just tribute.

'Setting one of the noblest examples of moral support recorded in modern times, England now came to the rescue of Italy, not entirely nor suddenly, but validly. The motto of Lord John Russell and of Palmerston was "Italy for the Italians." Those statesmen were too genuinely British to dream for a moment that England could send army or fleet to support a people in whose concerns British interests were not involved; but they showed how the moral support of England might be as powerful as the military support which France had embodied in eight score thousand soldiers' (ii, 123).

It is truly and, despite a half-sneer (repeated elsewhere), on the whole handsomely said. Moreover, this assistance served its purpose. In 1860 Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Roman legations were united by *plébiscite* to Sardinia; England was resolved to keep the ring for them; and Europe accepted the accomplished fact. On April 2, a Parliament, representing 11,000,000 Italian people, met for the first time at Turin.

The Emperor could not permit so large an aggrandisement of Sardinia without exacting compensation for France. The cession of Savoy and Nice was the price demanded and paid. To the King of Sardinia it was 'the sacrifice most painful to his heart' to have to surrender to the foreigner 'the cradle of his race.' Mr Thayer is clearly of opinion that the price paid was not too high, and pours some scorn, not undeserved, on the egotism

and megalomania displayed in this connexion by Garibaldi. 'Nice was his birthplace; therefore it was a place apart from all others—almost a holy place!' Far different was the attitude of Cavour. 'Cavour measured the political field exactly, saw that he had no alternative, and accepted the inevitable not begrudgingly, nor with whimpers and repining, but with the air of one who recognised that the inevitable itself might conceal benefits.' In one sense it did. 'The real loser by the cession,' as Mr Thayer justly remarks, 'was neither Cavour nor Italy, but Napoleon III.'

With the fusion of Lombardy, the Romagna and the duchies of central Italy with Piedmont, and the cession of Savoy and Nice to France, the curtain falls on the first act in the drama of Italian unity. During that act Cavour sustained the leading part, ably supported by the King; in the second act he shares the stage with Garibaldi. Garibaldi's brilliant achievement in the conquest of Sicily and Naples has been described with inimitable skill by Mr Trevelyan in his last two volumes. Thanks to his effective telling, the story is now familiar to English readers; and it is, therefore, unnecessary to do more, in this place, than direct attention to one or two critical questions which arise in connexion with it.

The first is the relation of Cavour to Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition. The Mazzinians and Garibaldians were prepared to think the worst of the 'low intriguer' who had sold the birthplace of their hero to the 'vulpine knave' in Paris, and declared that he spared no pains to frustrate the objects of the expedition. How far does their view accord with the ascertained facts? Now, as ever, Cavour had a difficult game to play; now, as ever, he played it not only with adroitness and skill, but with a single eye to the best and most permanent interests of his country. In the first place, it is important to bear in mind that, however great the popular enthusiasm aroused by Garibaldi's marvellous exploits in Sicily and Naples, he and his Thousand were, in the eyes of the European Courts, little better than a band of brigands. In the second place, it is indisputable that for the ultimate union of the south with the north Cavour was not less zealous than Garibaldi himself. Nevertheless, he would

have been glad to defer the consummation of the union; and he was supremely anxious that it should be effected without such a shock to the susceptibilities of European diplomacy as would enable the reactionary Courts to interfere with the settlement already attained. Unresting in his patriotic labours, he was also alive to the danger of haste.

'Being a statesman, fully convinced that well-knit states do not spring, like Athena, full grown from the brain of Zeus, Cavour wished' (writes Mr Thayer, ii, 239) 'to hinder a premature union. He would first train the new states in constitutional government, make them feel their common interests, teach them to be Italians instead of Tuscans and Lombards, let Europe acknowledge them as a self-sufficient, well-fused and united nation, and then welcome the brethren of the south. But, without any preparation, to join eleven or twelve millions of the most backward Italians to those of the Centre and the North—to yoke Neapolitans, Sicilians, Romans, each with their special problems, their inveterate provincial characteristics, their feuds, their backwardness in education and morals, their degeneracy due to the organised corrupting influence of Popes and Bourbons—to yoke these to the Piedmontese, already seasoned in parliamentary experience, and to Lombards, Emilians, and Tuscans, who had long had contact with civilisation, was an immense imprudence.'

In the end, the knight-errant forced the statesman's hands. Cavour could not lend the authority of the Government to an attack upon a friendly Italian Power; nor could he stop Garibaldi. Lord Acton describes his conduct as 'a triumph of unscrupulous statesmanship,' and obviously regards Garibaldi as his catspaw. 'Garibaldi,' he writes ('Essays,' p. 198), 'went forth as the instrument of a party that desired a republican Italy, and of a Power (France) that desired a federal Italy, and he did the work of monarchy and unity.' Is it then contended that Garibaldi was the dupe of Cavour, because the latter, powerless to arrest a rash though heroic enterprise, sought to turn it to his country's advantage? That is not the view of the best friends of Italy or of Garibaldi. Mr Trevelyan, after analysing the situation with convincing skill and impartiality, sums up judicially as follows:

'Mazzini and his friends instigated the expedition; Garibaldi and his followers accomplished it; the King and Cavour

allowed it to start, and when it had begun to succeed, gave it the support and guidance without which it must inevitably have failed midway.' ('Garibaldi and the Thousand,' p. 162.)

Cavour's friends tell the same story. 'It is evident,' writes De la Rive, 'that Cavour was not ignorant of and did not prevent the expedition of Garibaldi . . . I incline to think that his wishes completed what his fear of his own inability to stop it had begun.' Finally, we have Mr Thayer's careful summary of the evidence :

'The freedom with which the conspirators were allowed to make their arrangements; the constant communications between their leaders and the Cavourians; their interviews with Cavour himself, with the King, with Farini; the public subscriptions voted by Cremona, Pavia, Brescia, and other cities, without hint of interference from Turin; the gathering of the volunteers unmolested at Genoa, not once, but twice; the studied inattention of the Genoese officials to the final preparations; the gift to Garibaldi of the National Society's guns and ammunitions, without which he would not have sailed; the failure to order Persano to intercept the ships—these are facts which, singly and collectively, give the lie to the slander that Cavour and the King's Government refused to aid the enterprise' (ii, 268).

Garibaldi, though not wholly without hesitation, ultimately decided to succour the Sicilian revolutionaries and asked for no leave from the Government. 'I know,' he wrote on his departure to the King, 'that I embark on a perilous enterprise. If we achieve it I shall be proud to add to your Majesty's crown a new and perhaps more glorious jewel, always on the condition that your Majesty will stand opposed to counsellors who would cede this province to the foreigner, as has been done with the city of my birth.' The sequel is well known to all students of history and all lovers of romance. Within two months Garibaldi was master of Sicily; thence he crossed to Spartivento\* and advanced, virtually unopposed, upon Naples. The Bourbon King left Naples for ever on September 6; and on the following day Garibaldi, amid indescribable enthusiasm, entered the capital.

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\* One of the most important additions to our knowledge of the crisis made by Mr Trevelyan is his account of the steps by which Lord J. Russell was induced to intervene in such a way as to prevent Napoleon from interfering with Garibaldi's crossing. ('G. and the Making of Italy,' pp. 105-7.)

Cavour had been watching the progress of events during the last few months with mingled elation and anxiety. His first hope was that the Monarchy might forestall the advent of the Revolution in Naples. That hope had now perforce to be abandoned. But he never failed in generous appreciation of the man who lost no opportunity of vilifying him.

'To make Italy at this juncture' (he wrote), 'we must not set Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi in opposition. . . . Garibaldi has rendered to Italy the greatest services that man could render to her. He has given the Italians confidence in themselves; he has proved to Europe that the Italians know how to fight and die on the field of battle to reconquer their mother country. . . . We must not enter the lists against Garibaldi except in two events: (1) if he wished to involve us in a war with France; (2) if he disowned his programme by proclaiming a different political system from the monarchy under Victor Emmanuel. So long as he is loyal to his flag we must act in accord with him.' (Thayer, ii, 363.)

These are the words not only of a great statesman, but of a great man. The crisis was one to try the temper of the greatest. Garibaldi demanded the confirmation of his dictatorship, and declared that he would not hand over the two Sicilies to the Italian monarchy until he could proclaim Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy in Rome. Everything was now at stake. 'If we do not arrive on the Volturno before Garibaldi arrives at La Cattolica the monarchy is lost.' Thus Cavour wrote on September 11. Exactly a week later the Sardinian troops met and routed the papal troops at Castelfidardo. The royal army had gone south with a two-fold object—to ward off from the Romagna the attack threatened by the Papacy, and to obstruct, if necessary, the advance of the Garibaldians on Rome. Fortunately, this extreme measure was avoided. Bombino and the Neapolitan army had played Cavour's game for him. For nearly a fortnight (September 19 to October 1) they had engaged Garibaldi on the Volturno without decisive issue. On October 1 Garibaldi won a great victory; the Neapolitan army was scattered; King Francis II fled to Gaeta; and Garibaldi was face to face with Victor Emmanuel, who had joined the army at Ancona on October 3. 'Go to Naples,' was Palmerston's advice to Cavour. Though all the rest of

Europe was against him he needed no bidding. He urged upon his sovereign 'infinite consideration' for Garibaldi, but expressed his belief that the latter 'will be overjoyed to lay his dictatorship at the feet of your Majesty.' He judged his 'fiercest enemy' aright. On October 21 the *plébiscite* on which Cavour insisted was taken; and Naples and Sicily declared, with few dissentients, for annexation. At this supreme crisis Garibaldi proved himself hardly less great than Cavour.

On October 26 Garibaldi and Victor Emmanuel met; on November 7 they rode into Naples side by side. Garibaldi's work was done. He had added to his master's crown a 'new and more brilliant jewel'; he had commended the sovereign to his new subjects; and then, refusing all rewards and decorations, he went quietly away to his island home in Caprera. Francis II held out for some months at Gaeta; but on February 13, 1861, the town surrendered. On February 18 a Parliament representing all parts of Italy save Venetia and the city of Rome met at Turin. The Union of North and South was formally cemented; and Victor Emmanuel reigned over twenty-three million Italian subjects. On June 6, 1861, Cavour passed away.

It is a thankless task to distribute among the 'makers' the precise share of credit for the 'making' of Italy; but we can hardly better Mr Trevelyan's philosophical and temperate summary. In his pages we see

'by how narrow a margin Italy in her great year escaped another disaster like that of 1848; with what skill and fortune she avoided foreign interference, while she achieved her union against the will of all the great European Powers except England; what gross political and military mistakes stultified the powerful resistance which the Pope and the King of Naples might have set up; how Garibaldi's luck and genius and the psychological atmosphere of a triumphant revolution again and again produced military results contradictory to the known science of war; . . . how the first check to his career northwards, when Capua held out against him in September, occurred at the very moment when the wiser friends of Italy were beginning to pray that he might get no nearer to the walls of Rome; how, in the contest waged for six months between Cavour from his chamber at Turin and Garibaldi from his shifting bivouac on the Southern Apennines,

the divergent views of the two patriots as to the utmost pace at which the redemption could be pushed on were finally compromised exactly at the right point, so as to secure the essential union of Italy without the immediate attack on Rome and Venice which must have imperilled all.

'The mass of the nation supported both Cavour and Garibaldi; and it was this that saved the situation. But many of the principal actors were naturally forced to group themselves behind one or other of the two chiefs. . . . If Cavour had succeeded in annexing Sicily in June, and if he had been relieved from the competition of the revolutionary bands, the great Powers would not have permitted him to attack either Naples or the Papal territory. If, on the other hand, the Garibaldini had succeeded in attacking Rome, Napoleon III would have been forced to undo all that they had accomplished for Italy. The principle of audacity and the principle of guidance, both essential for successful revolutions, had each in 1860 an almost perfect representative.' ('Making of Italy,' pp. 2, 3.)

It is admirably said; and with this judgment we may take leave of two authors whose task it has been to raise in the English tongue a worthy monument to the Italian *Risorgimento*. The life-work of Cavour was just short of completion when he died. It was left to his Teutonic counterpart to place the coping stones upon the edifice he had so laboriously raised. Bismarck's attack on Austria gave Venetia to Italy in 1866; his war against Napoleon caused France finally to relax her hold on Rome. The departure of the French troops left Victor Emmanuel face to face with the Pope. Once more the King appealed to the Holy Father 'with the affection of a son, with the faith of a Catholic, with the soul of an Italian,' to acquiesce in the consummation of Italian unity. The appeal merely evoked the inevitable *non possumus*. A show of force had, therefore, to be applied. On September 20, 1870, the royal troops entered Rome; a *plébiscite*, almost unanimous, approved annexation; and on June 2, 1871, Victor Emmanuel made his triumphal entry into the historic and predestined capital. The dreams of the patriots were at last fulfilled.

J. A. R. MARRIOTT.



# Art. 5.—THE ST LAWRENCE.

WHEN Naaman the Syrian turned away from Elisha in a rage, it was by a comparison of rivers that he showed his passionate pride in the glories of his own land: 'Are not Abana and Pharpar, rivers of Damascus, better than all the waters of Israel?' Yet, if Jordan were as nothing in comparison with the rivers of Damascus, were not Pharpar and Abana themselves as nothing in comparison with Euphrates, 'that great river, the River Euphrates,' whose fame will echo down the centuries of faith for ever? Besides, there were other and still larger streams, of Asian and African renown, and real and fabled immensity. There were giants in those days among the old-world rivers.

But a new world came into the ken of man, and set other and mightier standards of natural greatness among the rivers of the earth. Imagine the wonder of the first western voyagers when they drew up the fresh water of the Amazon, while they were still far out of sight of land, and surrounded by what they had still supposed to be the vast saltiness of the South Atlantic. What a river, which could pour its own 'pomp of waters unwithstood' over the very ocean! Later on, this same river was found to be so astonishingly navigable that the largest sea-going ships could pass inland, without a hindrance, for at least three thousand miles—as far as England is from Equatoria. Surely this must be the greatest of all fresh waters, old or new. It springs from the Andean fastness of perpetual snow, receives the tribute of a hundred tropical streams—each one of which surpasses many a principal river of Europe—and then flows out to sea, a long day's sail, on its triumphant course, still the Amazon and still fresh.

But, if the whole of the Amazon and all its tributaries, and all the other rivers in the Old World and the New, with all their tributaries, and every lake in every land as well, were all to unite every drop of their fresh waters, they could not equal those which are held in the single freshwater reservoir of the five Great Lakes of the St Lawrence. So, if the St Lawrence River itself, and its many tributaries and myriads of minor lakes, are added

in, we find how much more than half of all the world's fresh water is really Laurentian. But even this is not all. There is more salt water in the mouth and estuary of the St Lawrence than in all the mouths and all the estuaries of all other rivers. Moreover, all the tides of all these other rivers do not together form so vast a volume as that which ebbs and flows inlandward between Belle Isle and Lake St Peter, nine hundred miles apart. Thus, in each and all the elements of native grandeur, the Laurentian waters—salt and [fresh, tidal and lake—are not only immeasurably first among their rivals, taken singly, but exceed all their rivals united together, throughout the world.

Mere size, however, is a vacuous thing to conjure with. Even the St Lawrence would be nothing to glory in if it could only boast a statistical supremacy of so many gallons of water. But its lasting appeal is to a higher sense than this, to the sense of supreme delight in the consummate union of strength and beauty—of beauty that is often stern and wild, with strength that is sometimes passive ; but always in both together.

Look at those most eastern gateways of the whole New World—the Straits of Cabot and Belle Isle. The narrow passage of Belle Isle may flow between a grim stretch of Labrador and a wild point of Newfoundland. But it is a worthy portal, and its island a worthy sentinel, with seven hundred feet of dauntless granite fronting the forces of the North Atlantic. The much wider Cabot Strait is sixty miles across ; but both its bold shores are in view of each other. Cape North is four hundred, Cape Ray a thousand feet higher than Belle Isle. There can be no mistake about the exact points at which you enter Laurentian waters, when you have such landmarks as these to bring abeam. Nor is there any weak touch of indistinction about the Long Range of Newfoundland, which runs north and south between these straits for over three hundred miles, often at a height of two thousand feet. This Long Range forms the base of the whole island stronghold, which throws its farthest salient the same distance forward to Cape Race, whose natural bastion served for centuries as the universal landfall of every voyage to America.

Newfoundland is an 'island of the sea,' if ever there

was one. Nowhere else does the sea enter so intimately into the life of a country and a people, calling, always calling, along a thousand miles of surf-washed coastline, echoing loudly up a hundred resounding fiords that search out the very heart of the land, whisperingly through a thousand snug little lispings 'tickles'—but calling, always calling its sons away to the fishing grounds, east and north and west, and sometimes to the seafaring ends of the earth.

Newfoundland is as large as Wales and Ireland put together; yet it stands in an actual contraction of the mouth of the St Lawrence, which is four hundred miles across from Battle Harbour to Cape Breton. Inside, the Gulf is another hundred miles wider again, between Labrador and Nova Scotia, and large enough to hold England and Scotland. So the entire mouth of the St Lawrence could easily contain the whole of the British Isles. The three principal Gulf islands are historic Cape Breton, garden-like Prince Edward Island, and Anticosti, which, though the least of the three, is over a hundred and twenty miles long. There is a whole zone of difference between the north and south shores of the Gulf, between the gaunt sub-arctics of Labrador and the maize fields and lush meadow lands of Acadia, where, as the old French writers assure us, 'everything will grow that grows in France, except the olive.'

The Gulf is the deepest of river mouths—a deep sea of its own, round all its shores, with lonely deep-sea islands—St Paul's, Bryon, the Magdalens, and Bird Rocks. The Magdalens are a long and brilliant crescent of yellow sand-hills, bright green grass, dark green clumps of spruce, and red cliffs of weathered sandstone. But Deadman's Island stands gloomily apart, its whole bulk forming a single monstrous corpse, draped to the water's edge. The Bird Rocks are two sheer islets, ringed white from base to summit with lines of sea-gulls. A light-house now occupies the top of the larger rock; but, on a moonlit night, the smaller still looks like a snow-capped mountain, from the mass of gannets asleep on it.

The Gulf has many wild spots, but none so wild as Labrador. And this is all the more striking because of the closeness of civilisation, old and new. At Bradore Bay you are in view of the continual come and go of

ocean liners. Yet along the shore, from here westward to Natashquan, you will find plenty of waste places, with nothing between them and the Pole except a few Indians and Eskimos. No part of the continent of America is so close to Europe as Labrador, which may also have been the first part of the New World visited by the Norsemen in the tenth century. Yet the interior of it is less known in the twentieth than Central Africa or Alaska. It is of immense extent. Both its north-to-south and east-to-west bee-lines are over a thousand miles long. Between these four points lie wildernesses of rocky tablelands covered with a maze of waters. It is a savage land, ruthless and bare and strong, that seems to have risen overnight from chaos, dripping wet. The bewildered streams hardly know which way to find the sea. Most of them flow along the surface in changeable shallows, as if they had not had time to cut their channels; and many lakes discharge in more than one direction. Labrador, indeed, is to-day very much as the Great Ice Era left it. But even glacial times are modern compared with its real age. Its formation is older, far older, than man, even if we go back to his earliest anthropoid ancestors, hundreds of thousands of years ago. It is older than the original progenitors of all our fellow-beings, millions of years ago. For it is the very core of the great azoic Laurentians, the only land now left on the face of the earth that actually stood by when Life itself was born.

The sea has always been the same. But the two thousand miles of the Laurentians, with the far-spreading country beyond, are the only lands still remaining 'such as creation's dawn beheld.' So here, as nowhere else, each sunset takes us back to the childhood of Earth and the beginning of Time, to

'The presences of Nature in the sky  
And on the Earth; the Visions of the hills  
And souls of lonely places.'

And, knowing this, I do not fear, but welcome, the spell of the Laurentian hills, which draws me back to them again and again with the same keen spring of desire that I felt when, as a boy, I first anchored one twilight within sound of their solitudes, and

‘ . . . they to me  
Were foreign, as when seamen at the dawn  
Desery a land far off and know not which.  
So I approached uncertain ; so I cruised  
Round those mysterious islands, and beheld  
Surf and long ledges and loud river bars,  
And from the shore heard inland voices call.’

The long, bare Labrador coast-line becomes less thinly wooded as it runs south-west ; and every now and then it is vividly brightened by a magnificent seascape. The big, bewildered rivers of the interior generally find a decided course to run some time before they reach salt water, and come down strengthened by each tributary and quickened by every rapid till they are eager to slash their way into the thick of the opposing tidal streams of the St Lawrence. The last of them is the greatest of all. The Saguenay is a river and a fiord both in one. Five large and many smaller rivers run into Lake St John ; but only one runs out, and that one is the Saguenay. Through its tumultuous Grand Discharge it soon rushes down nearly three hundred feet to sea-level, where it enters its fiord and ebbs and flows its remaining sixty miles in a stream a thousand feet deep between precipitous Laurentian banks two thousand feet high. Its flood currents are comparatively weak ; but on the ebb of a full spring tide it comes straight down with tremendous force and without a single check, over a mile wide and a hundred fathoms deeper than the St Lawrence, till its vast impetuous mass suddenly charges full tilt against the submarine cliffs that bar its direct way out to sea. The baffled waters underneath shoot madly to the surface, through which they leap in a seething welter of whirlpools and breakers, to dash themselves with renewed fury against all surrounding obstacles. A contrary gale when this tide is running its worst—and there’s war to the death between the demons of sea and sky in all that hell of waters.

But this is at the inner end of the estuary. The outer end meets the Gulf round the shores of Anticosti, between three and four hundred miles below the Saguenay. From the sea, Anticosti is one long, low, bleak weariness of hard flat rock and starveling vegetation ; but inland there is plenty of rich soil for plants and animals to

flourish on. To the south of Anticosti lies the grim peninsula of Gaspé, with its solid backbone of the Shick-shock Mountains, which rise, in rocky contortions, out of a wild and densely-wooded tableland. For a hundred and thirty-seven miles there is not a sign of an inlet on that iron coast.

Halfway up from Anticosti is Pointe de Monts, on the north shore, where the estuary narrows very suddenly, the mountains on the Gaspé side diminish and recede, and the curious double-topped hill called the Paps of Matane serves to show that the bank of soundings and line of settlements are beginning. The rest of the south shore has now softened into gentler outlines, forested on top, cultivated below, and humanised by a succession of white little villages gathered round their guardian churches—flocking houses and a shepherding church. At Green Island we are opposite the Saguenay, where the estuary ends and the river begins.

From main to main, from the mouth of the Saguenay to Cacouna Island, the river is only eighteen miles across; and the wide, clear and single deep-sea channel suddenly becomes comparatively narrow, obstructed, double and shallow. There are the Saguenay headlands and reefs on the north, Red Island with its big and dangerous two-pronged bank in mid-stream, and Green Island with its own terrific triangular death-trap on the south. The Saguenay dashes against and over and round the reef that partly bars its mouth. Red Island Bank stands straight in the way of the flood of the St Lawrence, which comes up, unobstructed the whole way and two hundred fathoms deep, till it reaches these sudden narrows. And Green Island Reef is thrust out into the centre of swirling currents that change so much and so often as to go completely round the compass twice in every day. What with the great depths and quick shoalings, the immense widths and sudden contractions, the reefs, the islands, the Saguenay, the tides, the ten different currents, and all the other restless things that make wild water, there is no other place to compare with this for the wonder of its seascapes. Here, in a single panorama, from the Tadousac hills or the crags of Cacouna Island, you can see a hundred come to birth, live and die in glory, all in the space of one day and night.

How often have I watched them shift and change, like floating opals! I have watched the literal 'meeting of the waters,' where the last of the river ebb meets the first of the estuary flood, and have seen the league-long snake writhing in foam between them. And, here again, in calm, unclouded weather, I have seen blade after blade of light leap from its blue scabbard and flash beneath a damascening sun.

Nature has divided the whole St Lawrence into seven distinctive parts. But man has not given them seven distinctive names; and no part requires a name more than that between Quebec and the Saguenay, the part of all others that nature and man have united in making unique. In default of a better, let us call it 'The Quebec Channel,' as the next part above it is sometimes, and usefully, known as 'The Montreal Channel.' Then, if we acknowledge all the straits connecting the Gulf with the sea as the real mouth, we shall have our seven names complete. 'The Mouth' should cover all the lands and waters of the actual outlets, that is, the Atlantic straits of Canso, Cabot and Belle Isle, and the Islands of Cape Breton and Newfoundland. 'The Gulf' is too well known to need defining. 'The Estuary' runs up from Anticosti to the Saguenay; 'The Quebec Channel' from the Saguenay to Quebec; 'The Montreal Channel' from Quebec to Montreal; and 'The Upper St Lawrence' from Montreal to the 'Lakes,' which speak for themselves.

For scenery and historic fame together the Quebec Channel easily bears the palm. The south shore, with its picturesquely settled foreground undulating up to wooded hills behind, and the north, with its forest-clad mountains rising sheer from the water's edge, are admirably contrasted and harmonised by the ten-mile breadth of the river which divides them. Opposite the lower end of the Island of Orleans, thirty miles below Quebec, the northern and southern shore-ranges sweep back in gigantic semicircles, which only approach each other again the same distance above the city; so that when you stand upon the Heights of Abraham you find yourself on a titanic stage in the midst of a natural amphitheatre two hundred miles round. Here the salt water meets the fresh; the Old World meets



the New; and more than half the history of Canada was made.

The Montreal Channel flows between almost continuous villages on both banks; the hills recede to the far horizon; and there are touches of Holland in occasional flats, with trim lines of uniform trees and a windmill or two against the sky. In Lake St Peter, half way up the Channel, the last throb of the tide dies out. At the end of the Channel, and from the top of Mount Royal, you again see the panorama of the hills. On fine days you can make out the crest of the Adirondacks, the southern outpost of the Laurentians, nearly ninety miles away. The view at your feet is very different. It is that of a teeming city, already well on its triumphant way into its second half-million of citizens. Having looked down upon its present extent, and then all round, at the enormously larger area of contiguous country over which it can expand, you might remember that this city, the Mountain itself, and the open lands behind, form, after all, only a single island among an archipelago at the mouth of the Ottawa, which is by no means the greatest among the tributary streams of the St Lawrence.

The Upper St Lawrence is full of exultant life, showing its primeval vigour in a long series of splendid rapids. Rapids always look to me like the muscles of a river, strained for a supreme effort. But man has accepted the challenge, running the rapids when going down stream and working his way up by canals, which are as worthy of admiration for their disciplined, traffic-bearing strength as the rapids are for their own strenuous, untutored beauty. The banks are nowhere very bold or striking. But there is plenty of human variety blended with pleasant vestiges of nature. Farms, orchards, villages, parks, towns, meadows, trees and rocks and woodlands, alternate with each other till the Thousand Islands are reached, at the beginning of the Lakes. Here there are hundreds of channels, great or small, eddies innumerable, ripples, calms, and a few secluded backwaters—all threading their way, fast or slowly, through a maze of rocky, tree-crested islets, and glinting or dappled in the sun and shade. Nature must have been making holiday when she laid out this labyrinth of water-gardens for her own and her devotees' delight.

The five great Laurentian lakes are so immeasurably greater than any other lakes in the world that when you say, simply, 'The Great Lakes,' you are universally understood to mean these and no others. Except for mountain shores with snow-crowned summits, such as enfold many a lake in the Alps and Rockies, they lack no element of grandeur. Their triumphal march takes them through hill and plain, wilderness and cities; while the charge of their hosts shakes the very earth at Niagara, and shows their might to all her peoples.

Lake Huron is the second wonder of the Lakes, and not a modern scenic wonder only; for the Great Spirit, the *Manitou*, has always taken up his abode upon the island called after him whenever he has come to earth. Georgian Bay is almost another Great Lake, and contains not thousands but tens of thousands of islands. Yet this mere size is nothing to the beauty of sky and pellucid water on a still midsummer afternoon, when the Huronian blue of each seems to blend into a third and more ethereal element—light as the air, yet buoyant as the water—in which canoes seem, fairy-like, afloat between them.

The third wonder is Lake Superior, a clear, cool, blue immensity and sheer depth of waters like the sea. Its surface is six hundred feet above the Atlantic, but its bottom has soundings as much again below. Its north shore is a crescent of stern and wild Laurentians, as high as the Saguenay's, and hundreds of miles long. And, as the St Lawrence fronts the ocean with portals that can be plainly made out from the deck of a ship a whole degree away, so here, two thousand miles inland, it has another and an inner gateway to a farther west, in the huge lion-like mass of Thunder Cape, a second Gibraltar in size and strength and actual form.

East and west, it is a far cry from the salt sea to the fresh. But, in the life of north and south, it is a farther still, even at the same time of year, from Belle Isle to Pelee in Ontario. In the height of the summer at Belle Isle, death-cold icebergs, hundreds of feet thick and acres in extent, are often to be seen; while at Pelee Island luxuriant vineyards are ripening for the wine-press in the latitude of Oporto, Naples and Constantinople. Yet from Belle Isle to Pelee Island is only half the way

between the Straits and the innermost headwaters of the St Lawrence.

But again, the essential unity of the great river is no less wonderful than the striking diversities of its seven parts. Winter lays the same tranquillising hand upon it everywhere, stilling it into the regenerative sleep from which it is awakened by the touch of spring. And everywhere, along the headwaters, lakes and river channels, and thence to the sea, along the south shore and its tributaries, over unnumbered leagues of waterway, and through every imaginable scene of woodland and meadow, plain, hill, valley, crag and mountain, the three open seasons bear sway sufficiently alike to find true voice in one and the same song of spring, another of summer, and yet another of the fall.

#### LAURENTIAN SPRING.

' . . . So another year has passed,  
And to-day the gardener Sun  
Wanders forth to lay his finger  
On the blossoms, one by one ;

Then will come the whitethroat's cry—  
That far, lonely, silver strain,  
Piercing, like a sweet desire,  
The seclusion of the rain—

And, though I be far away  
When the early violets come  
Smiling at the door with Spring,  
Say—"The Vagabonds have come!"

#### LAURENTIAN SUMMER.

I am sailing to the leeward,  
Where the current runs to seaward,  
Soft and slow ;  
Where the sleeping river-grasses  
Brush my paddle as it passes  
To and fro.

On the shore the heat is shaking,  
All the golden sands awaking  
In the cove ;  
And the quaint sandpiper, winging  
O'er the shallows, ceases singing  
When I move.

. . . And the perfume of some burning  
 Far-off brushwood, ever turning  
     To exhale;  
 All its smoky fragrance dying,  
 In the arms of evening lying,  
     Where I sail. . .

#### LAURENTIAN FALL.

Along the lines of smoky hills  
 The crimson forest stands,  
 And all the day the blue-jay calls  
 Throughout the autumn lands.

Now by the brook the maple leans,  
 With all her glory spread;  
 And all the sumachs on the hills  
 Have turned their green to red.

Now, by great marshes wrapt in mist,  
 Or past some river's mouth,  
 Throughout the long, still, autumn day,  
 Wild birds are flying south.

I rejoice to the full in the glories of our Laurentian seasons, and rejoice in especial with Bliss Carman, Pauline Johnson, and Wilfred Campbell. Yet their three poems remind me how much more we think of the scenes than of the sounds in Nature. Why is this? For, in all Nature, we have nothing more deeply varied than the sounds of water, from the softest breath drawn by a little infant lowland river to the cataclysmal roar of a hurricane at sea. If we have the inward eye that is the bliss of solitude, have we not also an inward ear, through which Nature may call our soul of memory? I think it must be so; for Nature is visible spirit, spirit is invisible Nature; and though there is neither speech nor language, their voices are heard among them—twin voices—the inward voice of the human soul and the outward voice of many waters.

Can it be that the ear is duller than the eye to the infinite appeal of water? At least, I like to think it is not always so. Each year, when I go down the river, the different currents, eddies, reef-tail swirls and tide-rips greet me with voices as individual as those of any other life-long friends. I recognise them in the dark, as I

should recognise the voices of my own relations. I know them in ebb and flood, in calm and storm, exactly as I know the varying moods and tones of men. And, knowing them thus, I love them through all their changes. And often, of a winter's evening, they wake the ear of memory within me by a symphony of sound that has now become almost like a concerted piece of music. It steals in on me; swells, vibrates and thunders; and finally dies away again—much as a 'Patrol' grows from *pianissimo*, through *moderato*, to *fortissimo*, and then *diminuendo*s slowly into silence.

Always, when it begins, I am in my canoe, and there is a universal calm. All I hear, aft, is the silken whisper of the tiny eddies drawn through the water by the paddle, and, forward, the intermittent purl of the cutwater, as it quickens and cleaves in response to every stroke. Next, along shore, I hear the flood-tide lipping the sand, pulsing slowly through reeds and sedges, and gurgling contentedly into a little half-filled cave. Then the stronger tidal currents join in, with the greater eddies, reef-tail swirls and tide-rips; 'and all the choral waters sing.' Then comes the breeze; and, with it, I am in my yawl. It comes at first like that single sigh of the air which drifts across the stillest night, making the halyards tap the mast a little, the yacht sheer almost imperceptibly, and the rudder swing just enough to make the main-piece and pintles whimper gently in their sleep. But it soon pipes up, and I am off, with the ripples lapping fast and faster as the yacht gathers way. Presently I am past the forelands, where the angry waves hiss away to leeward. Then, an ominous smooth and an apprehensive hush, as the huge, black-shrouded squall bears down on the wings of the wind, with a line of flying foam underneath, where its myriad feet are racing along the surface. And then the storm, the splendid, thrilling storm; the roar, the howls, the piercing screams, the buffetings, the lulls—those lulls in which you hear the swingeing lash on shore and the hoarse anguish of the excoriated beach; and then the swelling, thunderous *crescendo* and the culminating crash. After that the wind diminishes, little by little, and finally dies away. When it ceases, all the choral waters sing again. And when these, in their turn, have played their part, I hear

the half-muffled gurgle that tells me the tidal cave is almost full. And, at the last, the reeds and sedges rustle softly, as the end of the flood quivers between their stems; and tide, and reed, and sedge, and the lipping on the sand, the purl of the canoe, and the silken, whispering eddies from my paddle, all mingle, faint, and melt away once more into the silence out of which they came.

This is the voice I hear so often—the natural ‘voice of many waters,’ which, like the divine one that spoke in revelation, also proceeds out of a throne. For the St Lawrence, this King of Waterways, is more than royal, more, even, than imperial; it is the acknowledged suzerain of every other waterway, from the Mountains to the Sea, and from the Tropics to the Pole.

The farther afield the old discoverers went, the more they found that the St Lawrence was the royal road to the gateways of the continent. For its own basin is so intimately connected with the subordinate basins of all the other rivers that these men could go, in the same canoe, by paddle and portage, from any part of its course to any part of the coast—eastward to the Atlantic, between the Bay of Fundy and New York; southward, along the Mississippi, to the Gulf of Mexico; and northward, either to Hudson’s Bay or, down the Mackenzie, to the Arctic Ocean. Only the western divides were too great a barrier. But you could come within sight of their summits, which themselves looked down on the Pacific. So east and west, and north and south, you could go freely, through whole kingdoms of vassal streams, by the sole virtue of one passport from the suzerain river.

You might well imagine that these immense Laurentian waterways were still the enchanted roads into a perfect paradise of wild life. But they are not. Canada has little more than the population of London in an area as large as Europe. Yet she is allowing the nobler forms of wild life to be destroyed so fast that she will soon have none in a real state of nature. Of course, in this machinery age, modern man is everywhere, with overwhelming means of destruction at his command. There is not a single natural reservoir of wild life in the world to-day which he could not invade and destroy

to-morrow. But the more city-bound he grows, the more he yearns to renew the primal joy of Earth within him—body, soul and spirit—by some communion with 'Nature's old felicities.' And should he not find a land of hope for this in Canada? But he will not find one long, unless we safeguard our higher rights in Nature here at once and thoroughly. We are a new people, with a most exploitable country and all the means of destruction ready to our hand, but without much self-restraint in using them. We have a common cry, that what we need is not conservation but development. This may be true enough in many things, but not in the matter of wild life. We like 'a business proposition.' Well and good! But wild life is capital, even more than our forests are. Exploit it beyond a certain point, and both capital and income are lost for ever. Keep its capital and use its income, and it will benefit both ourselves and our posterity. Which, then, is the better 'business proposition'—conservation or exploitation at any cost? To say wild life must go to make room for modern civilisation is pure nonsense. Wild life is one of the most precious heirlooms that modern civilisation could possibly enjoy; and there is still plenty of room for it in Canada. More than this, there is plenty of room to further all the legitimate interests of all the three classes of people most nearly concerned—lovers of Nature, sportsmen, and dealers in animal products—and room to further them all together, in one comprehensive scheme of conservation.

But politics, exploitation and wantonness are dragons in the way. We have outlived our cruder pioneering age, but not the now perverted spirit which it left behind it—'There's plenty more where that came from.' Thousands of fishermen are still wantonly destroying millions of bird-lives, simply to get a few fresh eggs. They first smash every egg they see, and then come back later to gather every egg they see, because it must have been laid in the meantime. The same spirit pervades other classes. One of the greatest employers in the Gulf thought me only a fool for my pains when I declined to join an out-of-season shoot. 'Why, don't you know Indians can shoot "necessary food" at any time? and we're all Indians here.' Exploitation is even worse. Whales are being exterminated. Seals will follow. Inland trapping and



hunting is reaching the danger point. And the worst of it is that those men who, like the Indians, would prefer to use the income of wild life and keep the capital intact are at such a disadvantage beside the ruthless exploiters that they must either do the same or give up in despair. Politics complete the tale. We are so much engrossed in personal business that we have hardly any effective attention to spare for national affairs. The result is that politics run to seed and politicians 'make a good paying job of it.' Down the Lower St Lawrence no poacher is ever convicted unless he votes the wrong way, or his prosecutor has a stronger 'pull' than his own.

The enforcement of existing laws and the establishment of sanctuaries as overflowing reservoirs of wild life would benefit every class except one. And why should this one vile class of exploiters be allowed to destroy a natural paradise and leave nothing but the dust of death behind it? The opportunity is still there. But if we do not take it now we shall soon have lost one of the greatest possessions that a bountiful Nature has ever given to man.

The Laurentian waters have many a place well fitted for a sanctuary:—in Newfoundland; on the Magdalens, Bird Rocks and Bonaventure Island; along the North Shore in several spots, from the sea to the Saguenay; and, again, on Lakes Huron and Superior. My own, if I could make one, should be along some great reach of northern coastline, far down the Lower St Lawrence. I would, however, have at least two more in other parts of Labrador, the second on the Atlantic, and the third on Hudson Bay. No better country could be found to grow wild life in. Labrador has an area of eleven Englands, with a permanent population of only 20,000 and a floating one of 40,000 more. One England will suffice for all the farming and mining that can ever be done and all the water-power machinery that can ever be employed there. Reasonable lumbering should not denude more than one such area. So at least nine Englands would remain, perfectly fitted for hunting-grounds, game preserves and sanctuaries, and not at all well fitted for anything else. The three coast sanctuaries would be ideal places for all northern sea birds and sea mammals. A sanctuary for the roving whales may seem chimerical.

But, combined with seasonal protection outside, it would probably succeed. The seals, even the migrating ones, present an easier though still an international problem.

What magnificent wild 'Zoos' we might have! And nothing like so bleak and remote as people think. The Labrador peninsula, in its fullest extent, reaches from the latitude of Greenland down to that of Paris. It lies exactly half-way, and in the direct line, between London and our own North-West. And its Atlantic and St Lawrence sanctuaries would be found among archipelagoes and fiords that could not suit the purpose better, even if they had been made expressly for it.

Here I would have seals and whales of all kinds, from the common but timid little harbour seal to the big horse-heads and the gigantic hooded seals, the grizzlies of the water; and from the smallest of all whales, the twenty-foot little white whale, miscalled the porpoise, all the way up to the 'right' or Greenland whale, big as any monster of old romance. The white whales are still comparatively plentiful in certain spots. I have seen a run of them go by, uninterruptedly, for over an hour, many abreast, all swimming straight ahead and making the air tumultuous with the snorts and plunges that accompanied every breath. This, however, is rare. You will generally see them at their individual best in bright sunny weather, when their glistening white, fish-shaped bodies come curveting out of the water in all directions; or when they play follow-my-leader and look like a dazzling sea-serpent half-a-mile long.

But in the middle of all this and the corresponding flip-flop game of the seals, you may see both white whales and seals streaking away for dear life. And no wonder, for over there is that unmistakeable dorsal fin, clean-cut and high, jet black and wicked-looking, like the flag of the nethermost pirate. It belongs to the well-named Killer, the *Orca Gladiator* of zoology, often miscalled the grampus. He is at once the bull-dog, the wolf and the lion of the sea, but stronger than any twenty-foot lion, hungrier than a whole pack of wolves, readier to fight to the death than any bull-dog, and, with all this, of such lightning speed that he can catch the white whale, who can overhaul the swiftest seal, who, in his turn, can catch the fastest fish that swims. He

is the champion fighter and feeder of all creation. A dozen fat seals will only whet his appetite for more. With a single comrade he will bite the biggest 'right' whale to death in no time. I have known him catch a white whale off Green Island Reef and be away again like a flash, gripping it thwartwise in his mouth. Think of a beast of prey that can run off with an elephant and still outpace a motor boat! Fortunately for the rest of the seafolk, the Killer is not very plentiful, since he is almost as destructive as civilised man.

Bigger again than the Killer, twice his size at least, is the great, fat, good-natured humpback, the clown of the sea. On a fine, calm day the humpbacks will gambol to their hearts' content, lolloping about on the surface, or shooting up from the depths with a tremendous leap that carries their enormous bodies clear out of the water and high into the air, and shows the whole of their immense black-and-white-striped bellies. Then they turn over forwards, to come down with a sumphing smacker that sets the waves rocking and drenches an acre or two with flying spray. And last, and biggest of all, bigger than any other living creature, is the Greenland whale, the 'Right Whale' *par excellence*; and nothing the animal kingdom has to show is so impressive in its way as to see the waters suddenly parted by his gleaming black bulk, which, in a moment, grows to leviathan proportions before your eyes.

Would you barter the lasting companionship of all this magnificent strength for one mess of commercial pottage, especially when it is the fitting counterpart to the soaring beauty of the birds? Go out before dawn on any reef where fish are plentiful, and you'll feel the whole air astir with dim white wings. Look up above the Bird Rocks in clear weather, and you'll see the myriads of gannets, each the size of an eagle, actually greying the sky with their white bodies and black-tipped wings. Or watch the gulls wherever they congregate—the big Blackbacks, with their stentorian 'Ha! hah!' the Glaucus, the vociferous herring gulls, and the little Kittiwakes, calling out their name persistently, 'keet-a-wake, keet-a-wake.' Their voices are not musical—no seabirds' voices are—though they sound very appealing notes to anyone who loves the sea. But all the winged

beauty that poets and painters have ever dreamt of is in their flight. Lateen sails on Mediterranean blue are the most beautiful of sea forms made by man. But what is the finest felucca compared with a seagull alighting on the water with its wings a-peak? And what are seagulls on the water to those circling overhead, when you can lie on the top of an island crag looking up at them, and they are the only things afloat between you and the infinite deep of Heaven?

Nearer down in my sanctuary there would be plenty of terns or sea-swallows, with their keen bills poised like a lance in rest. They are perpetually on the alert, these light cavalry of the seagull army; and very smart they look, with their black caps, pearl-grey jackets and white bodies, set off by red bills and feet. They become lancer and lance in one, when they suddenly fold their sweeping wings close in to their bodies and make their darting dive into the water, which spurts up in a jet and falls back with a 'plop' as they pierce it. Just skimming the surface are the noisy, sooty, gluttonous, quarrelsome shearwaters, or 'haglets,' who have got so much into the habit of making three flaps, to clear the crest of a wave, and then a glide, to cross the trough, that they keep up this sort of a hop-skip-and-jump even when the sea is as smooth as a mill-pond. I would throw them a bucketful of chopped liver and watch the fun, camera in hand. On the surface of the water are long lines of ducks. My sanctuary would be full of them. From a canoe I have seen them in the distance stretching out for a mile, like a long, low reef. From the top of a big cliff I have seen them look like an immense strip of carpet, undulated by a draft of air, as they rose and fell on the waves. And when they took flight in their thousands, their pattering feet and the drumming whirr of their wings were like hail on the grass and thunder beyond the hills.

As you paddle alongside a crannied cliff, you wonder where all the kittens come from, for the rocks are fairly sibilant with their mewings. These are the young Black Guillemots, or sea-pigeons, whose busy parents are flying about, showing a winking flash of white on their shoulders and carrying their bright carmine feet like a stern light. I would choose cliffs for a sea-pigeon loft, a

mile or two long. The higher ledges of other suitable cliffs would certainly be lined with white-breasted puffins, murres and razor-billed auks. The auks and murres stand up as if they were at a real review; but the puffins, or 'sea-parrots,' with their grotesque red beaks—like false noses at a fancy-dress ball—and pursy bodies set low on stumpy red legs, always look like a stage army in comic opera. And there's a deal of talking in the ranks; the puffins croak, the auks grunt, and the murres keep repeating their guttural name—'murre, murre.'

Now look along the sanctuary shore, where you have been hearing the plaintive 'ter-lee' of the plover, the triple whistle of the yellowleg, and the quick 'peet-weet' of the sandpiper or 'alouette.' In the season you will always find the little sandpipers running about like nimble atoms of the grey-brown beach, as if its very pebbles bred them. No birds have a more changeful appearance on the wing. Some distance off, with their backs to you, they are a mere swarm of black midges. But when, at the inner end of their loop of flight, they see you and turn, all together, they instantly flash white as gulls and large as swallows.

If you have a stealthy foot and a quick eye you will have a good chance of getting near my Great Blue Heron, when he is stooping forward over promising water, intent as any other angler over a likely pool. He is a splendid fellow, tall as you are when he stands on tip-toe looking out for danger. And I always enjoy his high disdain for the company of intrusive man, when he flaps silently away, with his grand head thrown back, his neck curved down, and his legs listlessly trailing. A very different bird is the clamorous Canada goose, or 'Outarde,' during migration. I would choose a likely spot for the lines of migration to pass over. On a still day you can hear the vibrant, penetrating *honk! honk!* long before the black, spreading V of the hurrying flock appears on the horizon. As they get nearer they sound more like a pack in full cry; and when they are overhead they might be a mass-meeting ripe for a riot.

Very different, again, are the hawks and eagles. They would be represented by the osprey, which we call the 'fish hawk,' and the bald-headed eagle, who surely ought to be a sacred bird in the United States, because his image

appears on their adorable money. Of course, I would protect both killers and eagles, to give the same spice to sea and sky as the old robber barons used to give to the land. Besides, they help to preserve the balance of Nature, by destroying the weaklings; unlike the sportsman, who upsets it by killing off the finest specimens. It is a common sight enough, but one of unfailing interest, to watch an osprey hover expectantly, and then plunge, like a javelin, straight into the back of the fish he has marked down, checking his impetuous way, just as he reaches the water, by a tremendous downsweep of his wings and a simultaneous curve of his fanned-out tail. But the eagle beats this by swooping for the fish he makes the osprey drop, and catching it easily before it has reached the surface. Our eagles, however, do most of their own hunting, and prey on anything up to a goose three feet long and bulky in proportion. But it is not close at hand that the eagle looks his kingly best. I like to see him majestically at home in the high heavens, and to think of him as resting on nothing lower than a mountain peak lofty enough to wear the royal blue by right divine.

Such is the sanctuary I dream of—a place where man is passive and the rest of Nature active. But on each side of it I would have model game preserves, where man should not be allowed to interfere with the desirable natural balance of the species, but where, within this limit, he could exercise in sport that glorious instinct of the chase which he once had to exercise in earnest for his daily food. And first among all forms of sport I would choose harpooning—I mean real harpooning by hand alone; as I would entirely forbid the use of the modern battery or any other implement of commercial butchery. If you want proper sport, with a minimum of dependence on machinery and a maximum of demand on your own strong arm, clear eye and steady nerve, then try harpooning the white whale from a North-Shore canoe. To begin with, the canoe is, of all possible craft, the nearest to Nature. There is no apparatus between you and it and the water, except a paddle, and the paddle gets its fulcrum and leverage directly from your own body. Every motion—fast or slow, ahead, astern, or

veering—is also directly due to your own bodily self. And your pleasure, your sport, and often your very life, entirely depend upon the courage, skill and strength with which you use your muscles. The canoe must be seaworthy enough to ride out a storm; yet light enough for two men to handle in all circumstances, and for one man to handle alone when working for a throw. If you would see man to perfection as a beast of prey, take the stern paddle and watch the harpooner forward—his every faculty intent, his every muscle full-charged for a spring, and his whole tense body the same to the harpoon as the bow is to the arrow. But if you would actually feel what it is to be this human bow and arrow, you had better begin by making sure that you are absolutely at home in a canoe in all emergencies. Then take the harpoon and poise it so that the rocking water, your comrade in the stern, the mettlesome canoe, yourself, your line and your harpoon can all become one single point of energy whenever that sudden white-domed gleam tells you the whale is head-on and close-to for just one thrilling flash of a second.

Thus sanctuaries and game preserves have each their own peculiar interests and delights. But there is one supreme interest and delight they share together. This is the Pageant of Evolution—a pageant now being played under the eye of the flesh, but only as part of an infinitely greater whole, that began we know not when or where, that is tending we know not whither, and that will end we know not how. It is a pageant always growing greater and greater, as the mind's eye finds higher and ever higher points of view. And it is a pageant with the same setting all over the world—except on the St Lawrence. I have dwelt on this difference before; but I return to it because it gives us one deep note of significance that is lacking everywhere else. It consists, of course, in the immeasurable age of the Laurentians, which, being older than Life, are, therefore, a land coeval with the sea and sky. Think of this triune stage of sky and sea and primal land, set up by God so long before He put His creatures here, those millions of years ago! Then watch the actors. First, and slowest of all in their simplicity, the plants; and animals so lowly that they have hardly got beyond the frontiers of the



vegetable kingdom. Next, the rest of the immense sub-kingdom of *Invertebrata*. And, after them, the fishes and reptilia, and the birds, who are directly of reptilian origin. And then the mammals, who, after infinite travail, have produced one species which we, in our human conceit, call *homo sapiens*.

With man we come back again to history. And the St Lawrence is historic, so historic, indeed, that the mere names on its roll of honour are alone enough to stir the hearts of all who live along its shores. Think of the names—Cabot, who raised St George's Cross over the Laurentian seaboard before Columbus ever saw the mainland of America; Cartier, who discovered, explored, and named the St Lawrence itself, then and long afterwards known to all Indians by the magnificently simple titles of 'The Great River' and 'The River of Canada'; Champlain, who founded Quebec and New France; Wolfe and Montcalm, the heroes of the fight for French or British empire; Frontenac, Carleton and Brock, the three saviours of Canada from three American invasions; the 'Fathers of Confederation,' who nearly made a Kingdom of Canada instead of a Dominion; the men of the South African contingents, who helped to wage the first all-Greater-British war. These are the men and events whose names will go down to posterity, when all the merely material triumphs over which we make so much ado will be as totally forgotten as such triumphs have always been before, except in so far as they formed part of things beyond and above themselves.

Not many Laurentian devotees believe that any great love of higher ends will soon grow out of the lower means of to-day. But still these few work on in the faith that an appreciative posterity may be brought a little nearer by what they are doing now, that this 'Great River,' this 'River of Canada,' will some time give birth to the genius who will reveal its soul, and that its people will then divine its presences of Nature, see the visions of its everlasting hills, and be themselves regenerate in the consecration and the dream of it for ever.

W. WOOD.

Art. 6.—THACKERAY AND THE ENGLISH NOVEL.

*The Works of William Makepeace Thackeray (Centenary Biographical Edition).* With biographical introductions by Lady Ritchie. Twenty-six vols. London: Smith, Elder, 1910-11.

THE historical development of the story, whether it take the form of epic, drama or novel, has been one from incident to character. In the matter of drama, Aristotle, as is well known, laid the main stress on plot, whereas it is the function of a modern critic, like Prof. C. E. Vaughan, in his admirable work, 'Types of Tragic Drama,' to point out that the balance has now shifted, and that in the drama of the modern world the main interest is not that of plot but that of character. And this is true whether we look at Shakespeare and the Romantics or at the classical tragedy of Racine or Alfieri. But the general law is really not so conspicuous in drama as it is in poetry and the novel. It is even obvious, for instance, that there is more study of character in Aeschylus and Sophocles, to say nothing of Euripides, than there is in the drama of Victor Hugo. The truth is that we do not possess any important drama—if any ever existed—of the period before character became an important interest. Directly Aeschylus, in the famous chorus, denied the accepted theory that prosperity causes the wrath of the gods and produces ruin, directly he proclaimed the new doctrine that it was never wealth or happiness, but always and only sin, that brought upon men the Divine anger, the really decisive step was taken. Man had become the architect of his own fate; character had become destiny; and incident, the fact or event in itself, the thing that just happens to a man irrespective of what he is, had been displaced by the greater interest of the deed which issues from a man's personality and results in his weal or woe, his life or death. No doubt the lesson was very insufficiently learned. The plays of the Middle Age, for instance, were, on the whole, childish things. But the very compactness of its form makes it more difficult for the drama than for the story in verse or prose to be satisfied with what one may call externality. It is on too small a scale to be able, like the medieval

story, to give the loose helter-skelter of a world of disconnected events. And not only had it no room for multiplicity; it stood in visible need of unity; and real unity can only come into the picture through character. Consequently there is no great drama without it, the principal apparent exceptions to this rule, such as the earlier plays of Shakespeare, being great, so far as they are great at all, as poetry, history or story, rather than as drama. The only thing dramatically great in them is indeed just their partial introduction of internality, of the study of character, into what would otherwise represent life as a mere external pageant of strange, exciting or amusing events. The essential condition of the drama is that it has to produce its effect within the space of two or three hours; and the insufficiency for that purpose of the loose method of the chronicle is obvious almost at once.

But it was not so obvious in other fields. Adventures as adventures, alike endless, meaningless and incredible, satisfied in the main the literary curiosity of the Middle Age. Chaucer came indeed for a moment to transform the mere picture of occurrences into an interpretation of human life, as Dante had read into it a still higher significance; but Chaucer's lesson, like Dante's, was on the whole lost with the teacher, and the story, whether in prose or verse, remained for centuries in an almost childish stage of externality. Boccaccio is not only the creator of Italian prose; he is a great artist. But in him, as in the authors of the *Fabliaux*, the mere intrigue is the principal thing; the study of character is elementary or non-existent. And so it remains, broadly speaking, down to the eighteenth century, with the partial exception of Cervantes. In *Don Quixote* we are, for a moment, allowed to see something like the soul of a man, a weak and broken soul indeed, but one full of beauty and truth, a soul that one can love. But it was still too early for the great lesson to be learnt; and the most famous of the many novels that owed their form to Cervantes is only a cleverer, more modern and more vulgar version of the old chronicle of adventures. Who has ever loved *Le Sage's* hero? The hour of the great novel was still not come. The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were the age of the drama, not of the novel; of

life seen on a stage, not of life studied in a book; and those who asked of art an insight into the meaning of life went for their answer to the theatre of Shakespeare or Molière or Racine, not to any book which they could read at home. The novel could not, in fact, have a real chance till the age of the printed book and the general habit of reading had come, till poetry had begun to share its supremacy with prose, till the beginnings of the arrival of the social and intellectual middle class, that is to say, till the eighteenth century.

But then came a curious thing. The novel, which had hitherto paid almost no attention to character, took at once to paying too much. It is true that Defoe and Fielding still followed the old lines in the main. Robinson Crusoe is nothing but an individual placed in a singular situation, the consequences of which are set before us with amazing verisimilitude. The man himself is nothing. And though that cannot be said of Tom Jones and Parson Adams, it is still true of them that they are rather buried under their adventures. Fielding expects to interest us by what happens to them at least as much as by what they are. But the greatest English novelist of the eighteenth century was not Fielding, but Richardson. I am, of course, aware that this would not be universally admitted; but to me, at any rate, it seems plain that, though Fielding was the more attractive man of the two, the saner thinker and even the better writer, he stands distinctly below Richardson as a master of the novelist's art. Clarissa is a thing quite out of Fielding's reach. He never approached its noble unity of conception. Compared with Clarissa, all his people seem superficial and external. He has never been inside the very soul of any of his creations, as Richardson has been inside the soul of Clarissa. It is a new world of imaginative power altogether that we come to when we pass from him to live, as Richardson can make us, in the most secret chambers of Clarissa's being, identify ourselves with her, and hang breathless for whole volumes on the slow-moving crisis of her fate.

Now Richardson, whose work it may be remarked had immense popularity and influence abroad, lays his chief stress on character. Johnson, though a great admirer of Richardson, is well known to have said that, 'if you were

to read Richardson for the story, your impatience would be so fretted that you would hang yourself.' No real Richardsonian would admit that. The story is, in fact, of absorbing interest; but the point is that it is interesting in the new way, not in the old. The stuff of the book is to be sought in the heart, mind and soul of Clarissa; the things which happen are only its illustrations. It is the most individual book that was ever written, and in that sense the most modern. For the real difference between ancient literature and modern—one which, in spite of much loose talk to-day about the corporate spirit in church and state, is continually growing wider—is the substitution of the individual for the state or the class or the family, as the centre of imaginative and dramatic interest. And Clarissa is the supreme instance of this. In her story we know nothing of state or church, and in her family we have nothing but a collection of impertinent obstacles to the free development of an individual soul. This overpowering interest in character was safe enough in the case of a born storyteller like Richardson. With him the stress laid on the inner life of an individual could not extinguish the plot altogether. Genius can in this way often manage to escape the dangers of its own age. But the fact that the novel had come to its own in a century given over as none before or since to the criticism of life and manners had its inevitable effect on others. And if we look at two famous stories by two very great men of letters, who, widely as they differed, were both very typical men of the eighteenth century and were the acknowledged chiefs of literature, each in his own country—if we look at 'Rasselas' and 'Candide,' we shall find that, where a man is not a born storyteller, he inevitably yields to the spirit of his age, and his story is buried in criticism of life and discussion of moral ideas. Plot, in fact, is nothing; the interest of character has destroyed it; and, as the life of the novel depends on the union of the two, the story as a story is dead. We read 'Candide' to laugh with it, and 'Rasselas' perhaps to learn from it, but no one will ever again read either for the story.

The problem of the novel was therefore left over for the nineteenth century to solve. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, as in the Middle Age, it had tended to be a mere succession of disconnected adventures,

superficial, external, accidental, neither influencing character nor influenced by it. In the eighteenth century it tends to become a moral essay. The interest now lies in character; but the plot, where there is one, is uninfluenced, and remains absurd and incredible, as in 'Candide' and even in the beautiful masterpiece of Goldsmith. The thing the future had to try to do was to realise the union by interaction of the external and internal, circumstance making itself felt as the destiny of character, and character asserting itself as the transforming architect of circumstance. But first of all the novel had to have its share in the general escape from the colourless abstraction of the eighteenth century. It had to recover the element of action, of poetry, of visible life. All that was, of course achieved by Scott with a splendour which carried him all over Europe. But Scott did not take his work seriously enough to grapple successfully with the artistic problem of the novelist. He can create the Antiquary, but he cannot create a rational or probable world of action for him to move in. Only perhaps in his most perfect story can he make the whole plot turn with complete dramatic probability round the character of Jeanie Deans; and, when he has done it, he shows by the slipshod and vulgar fairy-tale of the last chapters how little he values or understands his achievement.

Scott's greatness lay not in any working of art but in the careless abundance of the world that came to life at his will, and the genial sympathy with which he looked at every creature in it. 'Here is God's plenty,' we say as we read him; a plenty still full of waste and disorder and apparent inconsequence, as it is in the greater world outside. But while he, out of this abundance of his, was pouring the riches of his genius into the treasury of the novel, there was a young woman who was putting into it two mites which, from the strict and narrow point of view of art, out-valued all his wealth. Jane Austen never 'gets out of the parlour'; nothing of importance happens in her novels; nothing great is ever said in them; but all that happens and all that is said belongs strictly to the persons who are the actors in the story. 'Pride and Prejudice' and 'Persuasion' may or may not be great novels, but perfect novels they unquestionably are. Here then, on a small scale, was

the goal attained, plot and character interacting in unity. Henceforth there is no step to be taken in artistic method; the development for the future is one not of method but of scale, not of art but of substance. The novel cannot be satisfied till it has tried to take all life, not Jane Austen's tiny fraction of life, for its province; and for that it will have to gain a wider experience, a deeper emotion, a profounder philosophy, a more scientific grasp of the forces which issue in the tragedy and comedy of human lives.

The effort to provide these is the history of the novel in the nineteenth century. That is, happily, not our present subject, for it would be a vast one. No previous century gave to the novel a twentieth or a fiftieth part of the literary energy given by the nineteenth. Everything in turn was poured into it: by Dickens an invincible belief in the value of life, an inexhaustible fountain of laughter and tears; by the Brontë sisters an almost Shakespearean power of tragedy; by George Eliot a seriousness both of mind and conscience, strange to what had previously been the least serious of literary forms; by Victor Hugo an exuberance of power that could include, as in an epic, the whole life of his age; by George Meredith a quality and quantity of brain which had never before been given to the novel; by Flaubert that infinite patience both of art and science which is not genius, but the instrument by which genius creates perfection. All these and other things, which in earlier centuries would have taken other shapes, took in the nineteenth century the shape of the novel. By the end of the century, aided by the decay of the drama, the once despised novel could claim to be the principal interpreter of the mind of the age, second only in dignity to poetry and far superior to it in general popularity.

Among those who in England did most to give it that position was William Makepeace Thackeray, the centenary of whose birth was widely celebrated last year. One of the best forms the celebration took was the issue by his old publishers of a Centenary Edition of his works, with Introductions by his daughter, Lady Ritchie. These Introductions are not, indeed, new. The bulk of them had already appeared in the Biographical Edition—



twelve years ago. But they have now been considerably enlarged and a few mistakes corrected. For instance, the present Introduction to 'Vanity Fair' contains thirty-five pages, some half-dozen of which at least are absent from the old one, and they are not the least interesting, including, as they do, some extracts, which will be new to most people, from Whitwell Elwin's 'Quarterly' essays on Thackeray, the statement that Dobbin was founded on Thackeray's (and FitzGerald's) great friend, Archdeacon Allen, and the curious conversation between Mr J. E. Cooke and Thackeray as to whether Becky killed Jos Sedley. And there are a good many additional illustrations, both in the Introduction and in the book itself.

Thackeray did not wish his life to be written, and these charming pictures of him, as his daughter and his friends remember him, are likely to remain the nearest approach we shall ever get to an authoritative biography. Lady Ritchie's writing is, like her father's and even more so, of a very easy and desultory sort, rambling backwards and forwards over an uncertain country, very reluctant to be tied by any chronological or other order. As in the novels, so in these Introductions, we are often a little uncertain where we are, and what year or what people we are talking about. The daughter does not care any more than the father to make it quite clear who people are, and what relation they bear to each other; and, like him, she frequently prefers to give us the marriage or the funeral first, and to say nothing about the courtship or illness till afterwards; all of which is rather confusing. To give one instance only. 'Vanity Fair' fills the first two volumes of the edition; it may therefore be assumed that its Introduction will generally be the first read. Yet the reader, who may very possibly know nothing of Thackeray's life, is casually introduced to members of the Carmichael-Smyth family without a word of explanation of Thackeray's connexion with them. All we are told is that 'the schoolboy often stayed with his stepfather and mother' in Dr James Carmichael-Smyth's house near the British Museum. Then follow other facts about that family, out of which you may extract the Thackeray relationship if you know it already, but not otherwise. It is a pity that people who write reminiscences will

forget that we who read them need to be supplied with the groundwork of facts and dates which they themselves hold in their memories, and on which they safely make their pleasant embroideries. We cannot follow them comfortably unless we are plainly told who married whom, and when, if not where; and how long each of them lived, and how many children they had.

But 'nihil est ab omni Parte beatum.' We have to take things as they are. Perhaps Lady Ritchie could not have given us what she has given if she had undergone a training in the business methods of biography under Sir Leslie Stephen or Sir Sidney Lee. As it is, everyone who reads these Introductions comes away with a sense of having, as it were, passed through a 'careless-ordered garden' of pleasant and gracious memories, in which Thackeray appears and reappears as the principal figure. What is the ultimate impression left of him—of the man, not the writer, as we look at him here through his daughter's affectionate eyes, or divine him for ourselves behind the characters in his books? Not that of a strong man certainly. A life of literature, journalism, and dining-out is not the sort of life that develops strength of will or character. He had a shrewd eye for his own defects as well as for those of others; and he knew how to lay his finger on the root of them. 'Yes, it is very like—it is certainly very like,' he once said to an American lady as he looked at a volume of 'Pendennis.' 'Like whom, Mr Thackeray?' 'Oh! like me, to be sure; it is very like me.' 'Surely not,' objected the lady, 'for Pendennis was so weak!' 'Ah, well, Mrs Baxter,' he replied, 'your humble servant is not very strong.' Thompson, afterwards Master of Trinity, said of him that in his undergraduate days he led 'a somewhat lazy but pleasant and gentlemanlike life'; and though most of the laziness of it had perforce to go when he lost his fortune, some of its laziness as well as all of its gentlemanlike pleasantness lingered in the man of middle age; so that when, after praising Carlyle for living in a 40*l.* house with only a 'snuffy Scotch maid to open the door,' he fancies himself asked, 'And why don't you live with a maid yourself?' his reply is categorical enough: 'Well, I can't; I want a man to be going my own messages, which occupy him pretty well. There must be

a cook, and a woman about the children, and that horse is the best doctor I get in London; in fine, there are a hundred good reasons for a lazy, liberal, not extravagant but costly way of life.' He was probably quite right. A prophet can denounce society without any other assistance than a Scotch maid-of-all-work; but Thackeray's business was to describe it, to extract its essence and convert it into art. That cannot be done without living in it, and then the man to go on messages and the rest of the machinery become valuable if not necessary at once.

It has been recorded that for a boy who did not play games he was 'wonderfully social, full of vivacity and enjoyment of life. His happy *insouciance* was constant. Never was any lad at once so jovial, so healthy and so sedentary.' There is the key of his life. A youth of these tastes was destined from the first to live the life of a man about town. And that life Thackeray did live always. But it is a complete mistake to think that he was subdued to it. He was above it, and in it, never merely and entirely of it. He caught from it its not unkindly tolerance of many sorts of men who would never have got past the snuffy Scotch maid of Cheyne Row; he learnt from it that truth on which saints and philosophers may sometimes reflect with wonder and humility, that this world is apparently meant to be a place of multiplicity and variety; and would not be so interesting, nor even, he is bold enough to tell his mother, 'so good a world as it is, were all men like' his saintly friend John Allen. But he knew the worth of such a man, 'yearning day and night in the most intense efforts to gain Christian perfection,' and wrote to him, 'I love you with all my heart and soul. I owe more to you than to all others put together.' But, for good or for evil, he and Allen were different men and perforce lived different lives. And it may be that, though Allen was the better man, Thackeray was the better preacher, and was enabled to make the more breaches in the fortifications of the world precisely by knowing its strong and weak places from inside.

If that was so, it was, of course, because he kept his heart sound. He had been near enough to Major Pendennis to understand his point of view as no one else before or since has ever understood it, but he never himself became Major Pendennis. If he had, he could not

have painted that wonderful portrait. Arthur Pendennis could paint himself, more or less, because he saw a good many points of view beside his own, and was never quite sure what his own was. But pure worldlings and pure saints like the Major and Archdeacon Allen could never depict themselves because they never for a moment get outside their own point of view. Thackeray, of course, was inside and also outside them all; and so could understand, love and judge Allen, and could create the immortal Major. Perhaps there are too many worldlings in his books; and perhaps he knew too many in his life. Even of himself, perhaps, one side was the Sadducee whom he denounces in Arthur Pendennis.

'Friend Arthur was a Sadducee, and the Baptist might be in the Wilderness shouting to the poor, who were listening with all their might and faith to the preacher's awful accents and denunciations of wrath or woe or salvation; and our friend the Sadducee would turn his sleek mule with a shrug and a smile from the crowd, and go home to the shade of his terrace, and muse over preacher and audience, and turn to his roll of Plato, or his pleasant Greek song-book babbling of honey and Hybla and nymphs and fountains and love.'

But it was the side which was kept under, which was judged and condemned and defeated.

'If seeing and acknowledging the lies of the world, Arthur, as see them you can with only too fatal a clearness, you submit to them without any protest further than a laugh; if, plunged yourself in easy sensuality, you allow the whole wretched world to pass groaning by you unmoved; if the fight for the truth is taking place, and all men of honour are on the ground armed on the one side or the other, and you alone are to lie on your balcony and smoke your pipe out of the noise and the danger, you had better have died, or never have been at all, than such a sensual coward.'

That is not the language of the worldling. It is a different thing—the language of a man who knew inside as well as outside himself what worldlings are. 'Charges of cynicism,' as Meredith said, 'are common against all satirists. Thackeray had to bear with them.' But, as Meredith adds, the man himself was 'one of the manliest, the kindest of human creatures. It was the love of his art that exposed him to misinterpretation. . . . He described

his world as an accurate observer saw it; he could not be dishonest.' Those who knew him knew well how much the opposite of a cynic he was; and Shirley Brooks expressed their feelings in 'Punch' when he wrote the memorial verses which begin:

'He was a cynic! By his life all wrought  
Of generous acts, mild words, and gentle ways;  
His heart wide open to all kindly thought,  
His hand so quick to give, his tongue to praise!'

And did any real cynic ever love his children? These Introductions show how Thackeray loved his, and how he was loved in return. No claims or pleasures of the world were ever allowed to keep him apart from his two girls. When he and they were unavoidably separated, he was a constant and affectionate correspondent; when all were at home together, they were his chosen companions; and his engagement to dine with them so many nights a week took precedence of all others, however distinguished.

It is inevitable that the Introductions should deal rather with the man than with the writer. They are avowedly biographical, and Lady Ritchie would naturally decline the part of her father's critic. But, after all, the man is remembered for the writer's sake. And besides, 'caret vate sacro.' He desired not to have and has not had a biographer. We shall never know him as we know Johnson or Scott. He will therefore stand or fall by his own writings. What place is he likely permanently to occupy in the roll of English writers? What part did he play in that brilliant development of the novel which, as we were saying just now, was such a striking feature of the century in which he lived?

Flaubert, in one of his letters to George Sand, makes a very interesting remark about English novelists. He has been reading 'Pickwick,' and he says of it, 'il y a des parties superbes, mais quelle composition défectueuse! Tous les écrivains anglais en sont là; Walter Scott excepté, ils manquent de plan.' He probably had never heard of Jane Austen; and, of course, his remark does not apply to the work of the last forty or fifty years. But even to-day, looking broadly at the English novel, it is still true, in spite of Scott and Miss Austen and George Eliot and

Hardy, that it is singularly loose in construction. Of that weakness Thackeray is almost the worst example. No doubt the detestable method of writing novels for magazines in parts, so that the whole story is never before the author for revision, is largely responsible for the incoherence of the plots of Dickens and Thackeray. The first parts are printed and then the novelist begins to see the story moving in a new direction, or, as Thackeray so often says, the characters insist on going their own way, and it turns out to be not at all the way mapped out for them by the author in the first chapters, before they themselves got warm with life and knew what they wanted; and the result is that mist of confusion and inconsistency which hangs over nearly all the stories both of Dickens and Thackeray. No one could write out a skeleton of the plot of 'Pickwick' or 'Pendennis'; they are all flesh and no bones, and their progress is as elastic and uncertain of direction as those of a boneless body would be. Dickens's good things, in particular, are always isolated and unrelated atoms, not parts of an organised body. Weller and Winkle and Micawber and Mrs. Gamp are perfect in themselves; they come full-armed from their creator's brain and owe nothing to those about them, who equally owe nothing to them. What a contrast to Jeanie Deans, or Maggie Tulliver, or Madame Bovary, or Bathsheba Everdene! Thackeray's people belong far more to his stories than those of Dickens; but still he is open in his degree to the same criticism. When we think of 'Vanity Fair' we remember Becky and Miss Crawley and certain scenes and places—Sir Pitt on his knees, Rawdon Crawley's discovery of Steyne and Becky, and so forth; we don't think of the story as a whole, and the other persons in it. Where there is a real plot it is impossible to think of one character alone; to recall Bathsheba is at once to recall Oak, and Boldwood, and Troy.

Part of the explanation of this is that both Dickens and Thackeray reverted to the old epic tendencies of the novel as against the stricter influence of the drama that had been lately brought to bear on its development. 'Pickwick' and 'Barry Lyndon' and that 'novel without a hero' 'Vanity Fair' are all, like the *Odyssey* and 'Orlando Furioso' and 'Don Quixote' and 'Gil Blas' and 'Tom

Jones,' the loosely-connected adventures of a wandering 'hero,' who, in the course of his goings about the world, shows us a great deal of the life and manners of his day. So large and discursive an 'action' does not generally admit the intensity of the drama. It is almost inevitably too external to do so. And so Dickens never, except in 'A Tale of Two Cities,' got near the drama; everywhere else—perhaps even there—what he approaches is not drama but only melodrama, which it is to be remembered is what results when, in the words of a living critic, 'a dramatist attempts tragedy with characters over whom he has no philosophic superiority, or with a situation which is to him nothing but a series of startling events.' Both of these unfavourable conditions are always present in Dickens, but not, it is true, in Thackeray, who maintained more than enough superiority over his characters, and was always too intellectually middle-aged to be anything but bored by mere startling events. What then, in his case, is the explanation of the fact, which I think will hardly be denied, that he seldom or never leaves on us the intensity of impression which belongs to the experience of having been through a great action where a great issue was at stake? We do get that impression from 'The Bride of Lammermoor' and 'The Heart of Midlothian,' and 'Villette' and 'Adam Bede,' and 'The Return of the Native'; why do we not get it from 'The Newcomes' or 'Vanity Fair'?

On the whole I am afraid it is because Thackeray's books are too much written from the point of view of the man of the world. No one knows quite so little of the real meaning of life as the man who habitually watches it from club windows; no one's view of it so entirely stops short at the things on the surface. And though Thackeray was much more than a club man, it is that part of himself which chiefly devised his stories. The people who crowd his stage could not possibly have anything to do with great actions or great issues. Nobody can imagine Major Pendennis or Barnes Newcome loving or dying; the most either could attain to would not go further than having his marriage arranged, or his decease announced in the 'Times.' The fountains of great life which spring from the heart are dried up in them. Whatever soul they may have once had has as entirely



disappeared under a continual overlaying of worldliness as the souls of Mr Bernard Shaw's people have disappeared under a continuous course of dialectics in which nobody is himself moved or expects to move anybody else. Emotion, in fact, is out of the range of those whose occupation is to play with the intellectual or sensual counters of life, not with life itself. And great emotion is the necessary atmosphere of great action. The fact, then, that Thackeray's characters consist so very largely of people of the 'Hon. Mr Deuceace' type is fatal to the claim of his novels to convey to us the greater emotions. There is a certain monotony of littleness in his work. One grows weary of the perpetual repetition of the intrigues and meanness and emptiness of the world in which nearly all his characters live. He seems to take pleasure in introducing irrelevant personages who play no real part in his story, but apparently come in merely to be shown at their business of dining and gambling and match-hunting, which the necessary one-sidedness of the satirist supposes to be the business of all persons who are well-to-do in this world.

The fact is that the determination to have done with shams, which was as strong in Thackeray as in Carlyle, really led him to a new sort of sham. Because many persons made a pretence of being actuated by fine motives when they were, in fact, looking out for themselves, Thackeray chose to assume that men of the world never in any case thought of anything but themselves; which is a sham or delusion as much as the other, the truth, of course, being that very few people, whether in the world of fashion or any other world, act either on entirely selfish or entirely unselfish grounds. I expect Miss Crawley and Becky had at least a grain or two of real kindness mixed into their desire to get the most out of each other; and there was probably some motherly love mixed with the astute generalship of Mrs Bute. But it was neither Thackeray's business nor his temperament to see that. When he saw goodness he saw it very good indeed, and not very strong, very wise, or very interesting. His intelligence always inclined to paint the world black; and any white patches that were forced into the picture came not from his imagination but from his heart. The remorseless realism of the satirist found nothing on the

æsthetic side of him to check it. His heart overflowed very easily into genuine tears that for the moment washed the analysing sceptic and cynic away; but nothing else did, certainly not his imagination. It is curious to see how entirely unmoved, to speak frankly how stupid, he showed himself both at Athens and at Rome. And so he always treats history from the point of view of the prose realist who means at all costs to get rid of the heroic, and bring forward the mean or ridiculous side that may generally be found by him who looks for it in the greatest events.

His method is seen in its most brilliant shape in the 'Second Funeral of Napoleon'; it is that of a man who, as its opening paragraphs show, quite deliberately chose the part of the Argus-eyed valet who has seen all heroes naked; and one may be the exact reverse of a Napoleon-worshipper without liking it, indeed without being able to avoid feeling strongly that, even in that case, it is the Devil's method of writing history. I am not speaking of morals. The spirit that denied in Thackeray never denied goodness; what it denied was greatness in history, greatness in art, greatness in life. There are plenty of good figures in the novels, and I, for my part, do not at all find them so insipid as they have often been called; but no one will pretend that Dobbin, or Colonel Newcome, or Warrington can have greatness thrust upon them even by the blindest affection. Thackeray is the first instance in English of the everlasting nemesis of realism; it gets so close to its object that the only things it can see are small things. We laugh at his people or weep with them; we love them or hate them; but we never, or almost never, admire them.

Yet he wrote the most brilliant English novel, in some ways the greatest, of the nineteenth century! And, though it is a real defect in a novelist to leave out, as he did, so many of the biggest things in human life, he might yet fairly reply that those who can give the whole of life are very few, so that art is forced to these narrowing choices and partial views. At any rate, if he did not make his people admirable, he made them astonishingly alive. He had the merits of his defects. If realism like his, in its eagerness to strip off trappings, is apt to strip off a great deal else as well,

it does at least strip off the trappings. Becky stands eternally before us, naked and unashamed, the first instance, perhaps, in literature of cleverness standing absolutely alone. Iago after all appears to have had a devil of hatred in him; but Becky has no emotions good or bad. She just has her brains to fight the world with, and she does her sword-play so brilliantly that everyone likes her and wishes her success. We are all greedy of pleasure, and she gives us so much that it is with her almost as it is with Falstaff and Mrs Gamp; she has extended the bounds of life for us, and we resent her misfortunes, however justly deserved. But 'Vanity Fair' is much more than Becky. It is a prose epic of a siege of Mayfair which lasted more than ten years, and of which, though Becky is the Achilles who certainly never sulks in her tent, there are still, as of old, plenty of other warriors engaged who all distinguish themselves in ways proper to this kind of warfare. The greatest achievement of the epic is to get a whole age into itself. That grows increasingly difficult as the world gets larger and more complicated, and better informed about its own life. Thackeray at any rate could not do it even superficially, as Victor Hugo did in 'Les Misérables.' He only knew one world—that of the well-to-do—and seldom adventured outside it and its satellites. But what a master he is there, always, of course, under those inevitable limitations of the satirist. There are, no doubt, such things as good Marquises, and Mayfair people who are indifferent to rank or money. But they were not Thackeray's affair. His business was with the others, who do indeed usually secure the places nearest the footlights on that bustling and crowded stage where the play of Vanity Fair is continuously performed by day and by night. Of that play he is the greatest of all showmen. Balzac covers wider ground and is a finer artist in construction, but on this particular field he strikes one after Thackeray as heavy, prosaic and *bourgeois*. Vanity Fair at play, which Thackeray so often gives us, is certainly not an inspiring or beautiful spectacle; but it is a delightful and amusing entertainment compared with Vanity Fair at business, which is Balzac's commoner theme. The sustained unity of impression of 'Eugénie Grandet' or 'La Vieille Fille' is quite out of

Thackeray's reach; but so, I think, is the vivacity of the scene between Morgan and Major Pendennis out of Balzac's.

No doubt the showman obtrudes himself too freely. The manager in modern evening dress coming on to direct his actors before our eyes cannot fail to destroy the illusion. Thackeray's frequent personal interventions prevent our giving his stories enough of that temporary suspension of our knowledge of their unreality which in one shape or other is necessary to all art. Many people complain of his sermons. But though they are certainly too frequent and repeat themselves too much, they do grow immediately out of the story, and justify themselves, besides, by being almost the most effective sermons to be found anywhere in the English language. Ruskin would not have one line of Thackeray, if I remember right, in his list of a Hundred Best Books, because he thought Thackeray made people worldly and cynical. This seems to me as hasty and wilful and unjust as any judgment, even any of Ruskin's, could well be. The truth is the exact opposite. No one has ever painted the two pictures of selfish worldliness, on the one hand, and love, genuineness and simplicity, on the other, with such convincing power of appeal in favour of the latter as Thackeray. He lets the worldling design his story and occupy nearly the whole of his stage; but what the worldling does on it is to exhibit his own emptiness and ugliness, and assuredly none of the spectators are tempted to envy or adopt his way of life. On the contrary the balance is all in the other scale; and many a half-worldling man or woman must have felt, as he read the story of Ethel Newcome or Beatrix Esmond or even Arthur Pendennis, that no pulpit has ever put to him the greatest of all choices as it is put there, and must have wondered to find himself still so capable of being moved, to find his heart-strings loosened and his tears flowing, not for Ethel or Beatrix only, but for himself and many other weak and struggling men and women.

These three books are, no doubt, Thackeray's best, after the supreme and unapproachable 'Vanity Fair.' That stands alone in all sorts of merits; chiefly, perhaps, in the fact that it is the only one of his books which is never tedious. Thackeray is there for once caught out of himself and

swept along in an irresistible torrent of energy which makes a world, though it scarcely makes a story. No one who can take up 'Vanity Fair' without being obliged to read it to the end, even if it be for the fiftieth time, has ever really felt the genius of Thackeray. After it, many people would place 'Esmond,' certainly his most beautiful book. But, beautiful as it is, it seems to me not altogether to escape the inevitable fate of the *tour de force*; 'c'est magnifique, mais ce n'est pas'—the real thing, as we know it in 'Vanity Fair' and 'The Newcomes.' It is an exquisite piece of artistry rather than a great work of imagination, believing in itself. Would Thackeray in any of his contemporary novels have failed to be sensitive to the false note involved in Esmond marrying his mistress's mother? It seems profanation to criticise a thing of such beauty; still there can be little doubt that Thackeray was primarily a satirist, and that his true business was therefore with his own day; in which case, though he himself said he would 'like to stand or fall by Esmond,' his genius must ultimately be judged by the three great pictures of the world which he himself knew, not from books, but from personal experience. And of the two minor performances I confess to greatly preferring 'The Newcomes.' It seems to me so much more alive. How much more one really cares about what is going to happen to Clive and Ethel and old Colonel Newcome than one does about Pendennis and Laura and Warrington! And old Lady Kew and Barnes and the Newcome world generally are fifty times as vivid as the Claverings and Fokers. Major Pendennis is indeed a creation of genius; but his is a rather solitary splendour.

A word should perhaps be said of the only other work of Thackeray for which a claim to pre-eminence is ever raised. Trollope thought that 'in mental force' Thackeray never rose above 'Barry Lyndon.' What exactly he means by mental force may be doubtful; but the judgment seems to me simply amazing, if meant to place 'Barry Lyndon' in the same rank as the great three or 'Esmond.' What is a novel? It is a story and a picture of life. And the measure of its greatness lies in the depth, truth and abundance of its life and in the power of art under which it is compelled into shape, made

to take the mould of a controlling human mind. What has 'Barry Lyndon' of all this? It is the loosely-constructed adventures of a clever scoundrel who runs all over Europe and yet scarcely meets a single person who is not as great a blackguard as himself. No doubt Thackeray displays immense *verve* in being able to carry through such a history at all; and certainly he shows considerable powers of invention in the matter of the accidents of the hero's career. But how superficial it all is! Barry is the conventional external profligate and adventurer of the old satirists and dramatists: what a contrast to Thackeray's manner when he has really formed himself! One chapter tells us more of the heart, or no heart, of the great adventuress of 'Vanity Fair' than the whole book tells us of Barry. We look through a window and see him, some way off, a stagy figure, swaggering about the picturesque Ireland and Germany of the eighteenth century; but we never really know him at all. And if we put aside the contemporary novels, and try Barry by the side of the other eighteenth century creation, what chance can its monotonous externality have against the humanity, variety, intimacy and beauty of the 'History of Henry Esmond'?

No; what Lady Kew said to Ethel in one of the best conversations in 'The Newcomes' is true of all of us, and certainly not least of Thackeray. 'You belong to your belongings, my dear,' said that very shrewd old lady; and the belongings of Thackeray were the Pall Mall and May-fair of the first half of the nineteenth century. He stands alone, has no very obvious ancestors, and no descendants at all. Fielding is certainly the man he owed most to; the same method, that of a series of rambling adventures, the same habit of talking to his reader direct, the same admirable and beautiful English, refined, of course, perhaps weakened, to the taste of a generation that came after instead of before Wesley and Whitefield, but still essentially the same; a language of unapproachable ease, seeming, especially in the later master's hands, to be the very language of every day and of all the world, and yet never stupid, never inharmonious, never obscure, never unconscious of the great tradition, full everywhere of music and meaning and truth. No one else gives quite the same impression as Thackeray of complete mastery over

his instrument ; one feels he could run up and down the keyboard for ever, and never strike a false note. Certainly no other writer of novels approaches him in this quality of liquid ease. It may sometimes be too garrulous and conversational ; and, of course, it was never meant to handle and never tries to handle the great things of nature and art. It could not have done the work of Scott or Hardy or Meredith. But when one comes fresh from a long summer bathe in its cool smooth waters, how much other people suffer by the comparison ; how stilted and conventional much of Scott seems, how crude nearly all Dickens, how tainted with virtuosity a large part of Meredith !

Thackeray found the novel divided between the historical romance of Scott and the exquisite parlour miniatures of Miss Austen. What he did with it was to give it the modernism that was not in Scott and the scale and range that was not in Jane Austen. Both he and Dickens deserted the strict construction of Miss Austen, and to some extent of Scott, in favour of the old loose epic model. And both turned to their own day for their material. But Thackeray was far more interested in character than Dickens, and knew immeasurably more about it. Dickens lives by his exuberant vitality, his inexhaustible humour, and the immense pleasure he takes in the spectacle of life, not by his characters, which, whether they belong to melodrama or farce, are seldom of the sort that convince. Thackeray lives, on the other hand, by his subtle insight into character, by the charm of his style, by the essential permanence of the world he described. The world does not grow poorer ; and wherever there is a rich society there will Lady Kew and Major Pendennis be gathered together. Dickens, on the contrary, suffers by the fact that the lives of the poor and the lower middle class which he described so vividly have changed so much in half a century that the manners and customs we find in his books are almost as remote from us as those of Scott's Crusaders. And one other thing. Dickens devoted himself in his novels to the assault upon special evils—bad schools, bad law courts, bad workhouses and so forth. These are all now reformed or extinct, and his novels suffer in consequence from a certain air of tilting at windmills. Thackeray's subject, on the other



hand, was the struggle between the spirit of the world and the best instincts of the human heart, a struggle which is not likely to be concluded this year or next.

So these two very different men go down the generations bearing their very different sheaves with them; and no one can confidently say as yet which sheaf will prove more valuable in the ultimate market of posterity. Thackeray, at any rate, must fight his own battle; for he left no successors. And since his day the novel has followed other paths. The chief, perhaps, is one that his path led us into. The worst of the good sort of realism is that it will lead to naturalism. When people have been given real life under the conditions of art, as in 'Vanity Fair,' they soon want it without those conditions, as in 'Zola.' In an age of science there is inevitably a confusion between the province of science and that of art. People very easily forget that art is the child of the imagination, and that, as Mr Hardy has told us, a good work of imagination is truer than any literally exact history. But to forget that is to accept the substitution of facts for truth. The conversations in many recent novels are as stupidly true as if they had been taken down by a reporter in a boarding house. The sayings and doings in such a book as 'The Card' are as uninteresting as the photographs in the shop-windows, as like life as they are, and as empty and superficial. But naturalism, however fatal for the moment to such artistic realism as Thackeray's, can have no permanent life because it is not art at all, but a bastard kind of science intruding into the world of art.

Thackeray has, however, suffered from the arising of other needs which neither he nor Dickens could satisfy. As the novel increased in importance and became the principal vehicle of literary expression, people naturally demanded that it should express their attitude towards the great problems of life and destiny. In a word, they demanded from it something like a philosophy of the meaning of things. And so, many people turned from Thackeray to such writers as George Eliot and George Meredith, who were felt to make an attempt to explain, if no longer perhaps to justify, the ways of God to man. And finally those who thought as well as read were certain not to rest content for ever with the ruthlessly

prosaic note of Thackeray or the sentimentalism which was almost his solitary escape from it. If the novel was to absorb the work of all other forms of literature, it must needs satisfy the eternal demand for poetry. And so those to whom Thackeray seemed to be immeshed in this visible world as we know it drew away from him to one who appeared to give so much more—the invisible, intangible essence of life, its spirit, in a word its poetry—and transferred their allegiance to Mr Hardy. The love of nature too, the sense of a Presence about us which the forms of nature somehow reveal has been growing ever since Wordsworth's day; and the novel could not do without it for ever, as Thackeray did; so that for this reason again people turned from him to the Brontës, to George Eliot, to George Meredith, and above all again to Mr Hardy.

All these things are against Thackeray, yet so much is for him that he triumphantly survives them. 'Non omnes omnia.' He cannot give us what others give, but he gives us of his own no mean or ordinary gift. After all the great fact remains. 'Vanity Fair' was written in 1847; and it is still doubtful whether, in spite of all its limitations, it is not on the whole the greatest novel in the language. A writer who is still talked of for the first prize in the race which he began to run longer ago than the historic Sixty Years Since can have no complaint to make of his treatment at the hands of Fame.

JOHN BAILEY.

Art. 7.—AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AND LAND-  
LORDS.

1. *The Village Labourer 1760-1832*. By J. L. Hammond and Barbara Hammond. London: Longmans, 1911.
2. *British Rural Life and Labour*. By Francis George Heath. London: King and Son, 1911.

THE two books which head this article differ widely in scope and character. Together they present a continuous history of the conditions of agricultural labour from 1760 to the present day. Though Mr Heath is mainly occupied with the present and the future of the 'peasant,' his retrospect bridges the gap between 1832 and 1911. It may be read with interest and profit. This is true also of Mr Hammond's book. But from the first page to the last it must be read with caution. It is social history written for political purposes. The volume contains much truth, worth telling, and admirably told. But the story is very far from being the whole truth and nothing but the truth. Mr Hammond, who loves literary allusions, introduces us to many of the local tyrants whom Fielding and Richardson depict among the rural squirearchy. He never mentions Squire Allworthy. Yet a Justice Frolic was drawn from the novelist's imagination, while Squire Allworthy is understood to have been a portrait from real life.

Mr Hammond devotes his first chapter to a contrast between the history of the French and English peasantry. He conveys the impression that the surrender of their seignorial dues by the French nobility in 1789 created the five million peasant proprietors who already existed in France, and suggests that, if the English aristocracy had acted in the same way in 1660, their action would have produced the same result. The suggestion is scarcely justified by facts. If English landlords in 1660 had sacrificed their seignorial dues, the customary freeholders of the North might have become absolute owners. But beyond this very limited class, no occupier would have been transformed into the owner of the soil which he cultivated. In support of his theory, however, Mr Hammond calls two witnesses. In the first place, he misquotes from Roger North's 'Lives of the Norths' the

description which the first Lord Guildford (1637-1685) gives of his experiences as steward of manorial courts.

'He used' (says Mr Hammond) 'to describe the copyhold exactions, and to say that in many cases that came under his notice small tenements and pieces of land which had been in a poor family for generations were swallowed up in the monstrous fines imposed on copyholders.'

Lord Guildford's statement really is as follows:—

'And in very good earnest, it is a miserable thing to observe how sharpeners that now are commonly court-keepers pinch the poor copyholders in their fees. Small tenements and pieces of land that have been man's inheritances for divers generations, to say nothing of the fines, are devoured by fees.'

Mr Hammond may possibly have confused fines for renewal paid to the land-owner with the court fees paid to the steward. The second witness is Sir Henry Maine, from whom is quoted the statement that the seignorial dues, against which the French peasant revolted, resembled the dues which in this country were extinguished by the peaceful process of copyhold enfranchisement. Presumably the reference is to 'The Early History of Institutions' (Lecture V). If so, Mr Hammond might have quoted with advantage an earlier passage in the same Lecture. Maine says that, in France, the sense of property in the soil was not in the lord but in the peasant, because feudal dues and petty monopolies, not rents, formed the land revenues of the bulk of the French nobility. But, continues Maine,

'a certain number of noblemen, besides their feudal rights, had their *terres*, or domain, belonging to them in absolute property, and sometimes of enormous extent; and the wealthiest members of this limited class . . . formed the counterpart, from the legal point of view, of the English landed proprietary.'

Mr Hammond's introductory chapter cannot be regarded entirely as a rhetorical flourish. The theory which it expounds pervades the whole volume. But his main purpose is to discuss the changes which were produced in English village life between 1760 and 1832, and to attribute them, not to economic causes or national necessities, but to the grasping tyranny of an omnipotent landed aristocracy.

'At the time of the great Whig Revolution' (he writes, p. 26) 'England was in the main a country of commons and of common-fields; at the time of the Reform Bill, England was in the main a country of individualist agriculture and of large enclosed farms.'

The change which took place in these 140 years is so remarkable, and on social grounds so deplorable, that no exaggeration is needed. But when Mr Hammond speaks, in the first half of the above-quoted sentence, of 'England in the main' he, of course, really means less than 'a quarter of England.' He says,

'Gregory King and Davenant estimated that the whole of the cultivated land in England in 1685 did not amount to much more than half the total area, and of this cultivated portion three-fifths was still farmed on the old common-field system.'

The sentence is ambiguous in more ways than one. Neither King nor Davenant would have included in the 'cultivated' area any land except that under plough. The figures are King's; and the addition of Davenant's name lends no greater authority to the guess. But King nowhere attempted to calculate the amount of land cultivated on the common-field system. For that part of the guess Mr Hammond is alone responsible. King did estimate the total area of England and Wales at 39,000,000 acres, a figure which exceeds the real area by over 1,600,000 acres. He then calculated the meadows and pastures at 10,000,000 acres, the forests, parks, and commons at 3,000,000 acres, and the arable area at 11,000,000 acres. Reducing the arable area to the proper scale, it amounts to 10,500,000 acres. Lawrence in his 'System of Agriculture' (1727) estimated the proportion of this tillage land still under the open-field system at a third of the whole; Mr Hammond nearly doubles this contemporary calculation, and claims three-fifths. Possibly Lawrence underestimated the quantity, which may be taken at half the tillage land of the country; 5,250,000 acres were therefore cultivated by open-field farmers. One of the admitted defects of the system was the excess of arable land. It would therefore be a most lavish allowance to assign one acre of grass to every three acres of tillage. Yet, even with this generous treatment, the total area under the

old open-field system, both tillage and grass, could not have exceeded 8,000,000 acres, or considerably less than a quarter of England and Wales.

The open-field system has disappeared to so great an extent that it may be necessary to explain its main features. In 1689 the land in a parish generally consisted of three portions: (1) the demesne lands of the landlord, let out on modern tenancies in compact enclosures to tenant farmers; (2) the lands occupied as a village farm by a number of partners associated in the agrarian enterprise of its cultivation; (3) the untilled commons and wastes, over which the lord of the manor, the tenants of the enclosed land, the partners in the village farm, and the occupiers of certain ancient cottages, enjoyed grazing and other rights in virtue of their holdings. Over these commons no rights were exercised by the general public; they were enjoyed, and jealously guarded, by the privileged classes enumerated. Any person who squatted on the common, by building a cottage or fencing-in a portion, did so at his peril; he was a trespasser, who was defrauding the real commoners by appropriating to himself a portion.

Side by side with the modern farmers who occupied the demesne lands, were the occupiers of the village farm who cultivated the land on a system of immemorial antiquity. Near the village were a few permanent grass enclosures held by individuals. The rest of the farm was occupied by the partners in common. The arable land was divided into three great fields, more rarely into two or four. Instead of hedges, narrow, unploughed, bushgrown strips or 'balks' of turf marked the lines of division between the three great fields and their component parts. Each field was subdivided into a number of shots, furlongs, or flats, separated from one another by balks of turf. The shots were in turn cut up into parallel acre, half-acre, or quarter-acre strips, coinciding with the arrangement of a ploughed field into ridges and furrows. Thus each of the three great fields resembled several sheets of paper, cut into various shapes, stitched together like patchwork, and ruled with margins and lines. The whole fabric is one of the 'Trinity Fields'; the separate sheets are the shots, furlongs, or flats; the margins are the headlands running down the shots at right angles to, and across the

ends of, the parallel lines which represent the acre, half-acre, or quarter-acre strips.

Every year one of the three great fields lay fallow ; one was under wheat or rye ; the other under barley, oats, beans, vetches or pease. A third of each partner's holding lay in each of the three fields. Thus supposing him to have eighteen acres, he had each year six acres under fallow, six under wheat or rye, six under spring crops. But the six acres, though in the same field, were not allowed to lie together. They were scattered in acre, half-acre, or quarter-acre strips all over its extent, so that in each field each partner had his share of good, bad, and middling land. From seed-time to harvest each strip was held in separate occupation. When once the crops were cleared, common rights began. The live stock of the partners, tended by the common neatherd and shepherd, grazed the land from harvest to seed-time.

The meadows were similarly treated. From St Gregory's Day (March 24) to harvest, they were put up for hay, and distributed among the partners in separate occupation. After the hay crop had been carried, they reverted to common occupation, grazed indiscriminately by the partners' live stock from harvest till they were again allotted and put up for hay. Only two acres of meadow were usually allotted to every eighteen acres of arable land. In 1689 the field cultivation of roots and artificial grasses was practically unknown even on enclosed land ; and their introduction on open-fields, which, when tilled for grain or leguminous crops, was pastured in common from harvest to seed-time, was extremely difficult, if not impossible. Grazing rights over the commons were therefore essential to the partners in the village farm, and formed an integral part of the open-field system.

In size the holdings ranged from 150 acres to the four acres or lesser area attached to cottages. No less varied were the tenures. Intermixed with the strips of owners were strips occupied by copyholders of inheritance or for lives, by leaseholders for lives or for a term of years, or by tenants at will. Mr Hammond ignores this variety of tenure. By representing the occupiers as owners, he at once establishes his parallel with France, and represents the English landlords in the odious light of



appropriating the holdings of peasant proprietors. Mr Hammond (p. 28) says that

'the arable fields were divided into strips, with different *owners*, some of whom *owned* few strips, and some many. The various strips that *belonged* to a particular *owner* were scattered among the fields. . . . The common meadow land was divided up by lot, pegged out, and distributed among the *owners* of the strips.'

The italics are ours; but the insistence upon ownership creates an entirely false impression of the facts. It is true that Mr Hammond goes on to enumerate the different classes in the village. 'In a normal village,' he says, 'there would be (1) a Lord of the Manor, (2) Freeholders . . . going by the general name of Yeomanry, (3) Copyholders, (4) Tenant Farmers . . ., (5) Cottagers, (6) Squatters, and (7) Farm Servants, living in their employers' houses.' But in order to prove the preponderance of owners, he relies partly on Gregory King's classification of the agricultural population into 26,586 nobles, esquires, clergy and gentlemen, 40,000 larger and 120,000 lesser 'freeholders,' and 150,000 'farmers'; partly on Adam Smith, who in the 'Wealth of Nations' (1776) said that 'the large number of yeomen was . . . the strength . . . of English agriculture.' Even if King's guesswork, which by the way Mr Hammond misquotes, is accepted as reliable evidence, the witnesses do not carry him far. He cannot restrict either 'freeholders' or 'yeomen' to owners. The 40s. freeholder, who from 1429 onwards was an electoral force, included lessees for lives; and in King's classification 'freeholders' means not only lessees for lives, but copyholders and customary tenants. 'Farmers' are tenants for terms of years or at will. 'Yeomen' in Harrison's 'Description of England' were 'for the most part farmers to gentlemen.' Latimer's father was a yeoman, though he owned no land. Bacon, in his 'Life of Henry VII,' speaks of the 'tenancies for years, lives, and at will, whereupon much of the yeomanry lived.' Guillim's 'Heraldry' (1679) includes, among yeomen, copyhold and customary tenants. To Blackstone the word 'yeoman' meant a duly qualified rural voter. Finally Adam Smith, in the very passage to which Mr Hammond refers, calls all English farmers yeomen,

adding that a 'great part' of them are lessees for lives. The restriction of the word to farmer-owners belongs to the latter part of the first half of the nineteenth century; and it is on this modern usage that Mr Hammond relies for his proof that the mass of open-field occupiers were owners of the strips they cultivated.

The practical objections to the open-field system are ignored by Mr Hammond. He makes the most of the rare instances where open-field farming had improved; he omits those where it is reported that the standard had deteriorated. He dwells with approval on Sir Richard Sutton's Act of 1773, which enabled three-fourths in number and value of the occupiers to set aside the ancient rules of cultivation and adopt improved methods. He forgets to mention that there is only one recorded instance of this Act being put in operation. That instance is Hunmanby, in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where Isaac Leadam succeeded in inducing the occupiers to change the traditional practices of the Middle Ages. It must be remembered that up to about 1775 there was no pressure of increased demand for agricultural produce; that the population was growing almost imperceptibly, and that, owing largely to the open-field system, it was in rural villages stationary; that no important improvements had been at all generally introduced into farming, even on enclosed land. In 1780 these conditions were changing fast. The development of manufacturing industries was creating a demand for food which the self-sufficing methods of open-field farming could not attempt to supply; population increased more and more rapidly; drill-husbandry, roots, artificial grasses and scientific stock breeding had been successfully established on enclosed farms. Before another twenty years had passed, the need for developing to the full all the resources of the soil had become a matter of desperate urgency. It is, therefore, important to consider what were the ineradicable defects of open-field farming. They cannot be dismissed, as they are by Mr Hammond, with an allusion to the 'slow bucolic temperament,' or to the yoking of 'the swift with the slow.' They lie at the root of the whole question, and are not to be waived aside as 'inconveniences.'

So long as farming had been unprogressive, and

population stationary, the national loss from open-field farming was comparatively unimportant. When improved methods and increased resources were commanded by farmers, and when scarcity trode more and more closely on the heels of harvest, the need for change became imperative. A quantity of the arable land was wasted in innumerable footpaths and in balks which perennially harboured twitch. All the occupiers were bound by rigid customary rules, compelled to treat all kinds of soil alike, constrained to cultivate the same crops, obliged to keep time with one another in all the operations of husbandry. Without the agreement of a large body of ignorant and suspicious occupiers, no change could be introduced. It spelt financial ruin if any member of the community grew turnips on arable land which was pastured in common from August to February; he grew them at his own cost for the benefit of his neighbours. The strips of land were too narrow to admit of cross-ploughing or cross-harrowing. Drainage was practically impossible, for, if one man drained or water-furrowed his land or scoured his courses, his neighbour's negligence stopped his outfalls. It was to carry off the water by the only means available in open-fields that the land was heaped into high ridges, from the top of which the rain washed the richness into the water-logged furrows. The land was, to the eye of the modern farmer, generally foul; if one occupier tilled his strip cleanly, he was at the mercy of a slovenly neighbour; the fallow left its triennial heritage of nettles, docks, and thistles. The farm-buildings were gathered together in the village, often at a distance of two miles from the land. As each man's strips lay scattered over each of the open-fields, he wasted his day in visiting the different parts of his holding, and his expenses of manuring, reaping, carting, and horse-keeping were swollen by the remoteness of the different parts of his occupation. Vexatious rights hindered proper cultivation. One man might have the right to turn his plough on his neighbour's land, and the victim must wait his neighbour's pleasure, or risk the damage to his crops. There was no room for enterprise or initiative; the pace was set by the laggards.

On the meadows attention was rarely paid to the quality of the grass or to the drainage of the land, because

the man who benefited for four months grudged the cost of improving the land for his neighbours during the rest of the year. The same obstacle hindered any attempt to improve the commons, which were pimpled with mole-heaps and ant-hills, or pitted with wet patches where nothing grew but rushes. Fettered by the common rights of pasture which the partners enjoyed over the whole of the arable land, and therefore unable to provide winter-keep, farmers were forced to stock the commons too soon, too late, and too hard. Ill-fed all the year round, half-starved during the winter, compelled to travel long distances for food, the live stock deteriorated in quality and dwindled in size. The scab was rarely absent from the crowded common fold, or the rot from the ill-drained ploughland or pasture. No individual could attempt to improve his flock or his herd, when all the sheep and cattle of the village grazed together on the same commons. Breeding degenerated into the promiscuous intercourse of nobody's son with everybody's daughter.

This is no imaginary picture of the general features of open-field farming. It defies contradiction. In face of these and other practical objections to the ancient system, it could not be maintained when once the nation became hard pressed for food. It was driven out of use by a superior implement for the production of bread and meat. Every advance in agricultural science and every addition to agricultural resources only accentuated its inferiority. Its disappearance was due to causes similar to those which substituted spinning and weaving factories for the domestic industries of isolated cottages. The two movements were simultaneous and interdependent. So long as Northern Europe was the only granary from which a supplementary supply of grain could be drawn, the corn area was simultaneously affected by similar climatic conditions. A deficient harvest in England generally meant a shortage also in France and Germany. This country was, in the main, dependent on home produce, and must have been so whatever fiscal policy it pursued. In time of war these ordinary conditions were accentuated. During the later years of the Napoleonic struggle, when the population had doubled, England was practically cut off from foreign supplies by the cost of transport, which at war risks sometimes amounted to 50s. a quarter.

If the open-field system had been maintained, or if the country had waited for the partners in village farms to adopt improved practices, the nation must have been of necessity starved into surrender.

This side of the question is practically omitted by Mr Hammond. Having magnified the prevalence of the old system, ignored its defects, and established to his own satisfaction that the majority of the occupiers of open-field farms were owners, his task is comparatively easy. Enclosures are selfish tyranny; their results are the wholesale reduction of peasant proprietors to the position of landless labourers, whose degradation is completed by the infamous administration of a barbarous Poor Law. With much that Mr Hammond has to say on these points no one who is conversant with rural history can fail to sympathise. But here again there are so many exaggerations, prejudices and omissions that the book defeats its own object. In a very limited space, it is only possible to make the briefest reference to a few salient features.

The ordinary procedure, by which open-fields and commons were enclosed, opened with a petition presented to Parliament by persons locally interested. The petition was signed by the lord of the manor or principalland-owner, the tithe-owner, and other claimants. On this petition, by leave of the House of Commons, a Bill was introduced, read twice, and referred to a Committee which might consist of the whole House or of selected members. The Committee, after hearing evidence, reported that the standing orders had or had not been complied with; that the allegations were or were not true; that the parties had or had not consented. On their report the Bill was either rejected, or read a third time and sent to the Lords. There the process was repeated; if the Bill passed, it received the Royal assent. When the Bill became an Act, the Commissioners named in it arrived at the village, heard and decided the claims of the persons interested, and made their award, distributing the property in separate ownership among those who had established their titles, with due regard to the 'quality, quantity, and contiguity' of the land. Even if it is assumed that Parliamentary Committees, largely composed of landed proprietors, were always disinterested on questions affecting land, the procedure was open to grave abuses.

That those abuses were most felt by small claimants may also be admitted. Mr Hammond naturally makes the most of them. He deals at length with the case of King's Sedgmoor, and it may be worth while to examine the selected instance.

It can hardly be denied that the condition of Bridgewater Marsh, of which King's Sedgmoor formed a part, justified some attempt at improvement. Billingsley describes its state in his 'Agricultural Survey of Somersetshire' (1797). He says that the tide flows up the River Parret, 'frequently penning the land-floods over the moor and meadows adjoining; so that near 30,000 acres of fine land are frequently overflowed for a considerable time together, rendering the herbage unwholesome for the cattle, and the air unhealthy to the inhabitants.' Mr Hammond, though he quotes from Billingsley, omits this passage. He treats the project of drainage and enclosure merely as a device to satisfy Lord Bolingbroke's creditors out of the profits of the improvement. In his view, the Bill of 1775 was promoted by Henry St John, Bolingbroke's brother. He may be right. But Billingsley explicitly states that the introduction of the measure in 1775 was due to 'Mr Allen, then Member of Parliament for Bridgewater.' Be this as it may, George Selwyn, as Chairman of the Committee, and as a friend of 'Bully' Bolingbroke, reported in favour of the Bill. 'The most conscientious man in the House in questions of this kind' (writes Selwyn), 'Sir F. Drake, . . . told me that nothing could be so right as the enclosure.' Mr Hammond's case would have been more complete if the intrigue on behalf of 'Bully' had succeeded. But it failed, for the House rejected the Bill.

The project was revived with better success in 1790. The following year the Bill passed, and the land was drained and allotted in separate ownership to those claimants who established their titles. Mr Hammond ridicules Billingsley's suggestion that the cause of truth is better served by private conversations than by 'public meetings.' His comments suggest that the consents of the commoners were unfairly obtained. Another possible explanation is that, in the interval from 1775 to 1791, the commoners profited by the recent example of the successful drainage and enclosure of the adjacent Brent

Marsh. To this improvement Mr Hammond does not allude. Yet Billingsley, earlier in the same chapter from which he quotes, says of it :

'Scarcely a farmer can now be found who does not possess a considerable landed property; and many whose fathers lived in idleness and sloth on the precarious support of a few half-starved cows, or a few limping geese, are now in affluence. . . . Disorders of the body, to which the stagnant waters heretofore subjected them, are now scarcely known; and the inhabitants for the most part arrive at a good old age.'

Billingsley speaks in the passage quoted above of farmers becoming possessed of landed property. The fact is confirmed by evidence all over the country, though it is not referred to by Mr Hammond. The number of small owners of land was rather increased than decreased by enclosures. From 1760 to 1810 they were a growing, not a dwindling class. During the Napoleonic war, many owners were tempted by the price of land to sell their estates, and either carry the capital into trade or employ it in hiring larger areas as tenant farmers. Of those who remained, the majority were ruined by the disastrous collapse of farming from 1812 to 1836. Men who had charged their estates with any incumbrances were speedily ruined; those whose land remained free from mortgages, jointures, or charges, struggled longer. But, in many instances, they were, after 1813, crushed out of existence by the Poor Rates, which, as they employed no labour but their own, brought them no compensation by lowering wages.

The classes who suffered most from enclosures were open-field farmers who had no permanent independent interest in the land they cultivated, and tenants of cottages to which land or common rights were attached. In these cases no claim was allowed, because their title was directly derived from the land-owner whose tenants they were. Both classes were thus reduced to the position of hired labourers. Great suffering was the result. Here again no one familiar with rural life in the period 1760 to 1832 can withhold his sympathy from much that Mr Hammond writes. But the question which our forefathers had to decide was whether the few should suffer or the many starve. Social historians may



perhaps agree that too much was thought of the increased production of food and too little of the social consequences of enclosures. If they are wise, they will also rejoice that they had not themselves to face the dilemma of decision. Few, it is to be hoped, would wish to exaggerate the miseries which undoubtedly followed from enclosures, by adding to their sum the sufferings that resulted from a different industrial change. This, however, is in effect what Mr Hammond has done. He lays the most detailed and emphatic stress on the loss of commons, and dismisses with two half-sentences the destruction of the domestic industries of the villages. Yet the introduction of manufacturing machinery, the decay of local trades, the transfer of population from the South to the North, inflicted more widespread suffering on rural districts, and threw more people on the rates, than the break-up of open-field farms and the enclosure of commons.

Mr Hammond does not sufficiently recognise that enclosures aimed at two different objects at two different times. In this respect he makes the same mistake as Karl Marx. During the first thirty years of the period (1760-90), land was generally enclosed for laying down tillage to pasture. This grass-growing not only lessened the corn area, but consolidated holdings, reduced employment, and therefore tended to depopulate villages. It is this form of enclosure that the writers who are most frequently quoted were attacking or defending. Nathaniel Forster, Richard Price, Stephen Addington, John Arbuthnot, 'The Country Gentleman,' Josiah Tucker, Nathaniel Kent, Thomas Stone, the Rev. J. Howlett, all wrote between 1763 and 1787. Even the Rev. David Davies collected the materials for his 'Case of Labourers in Husbandry' (1795) within this earlier period. The later enclosures were made under the pressure of hunger for the purpose of growing more corn. They increased the demand for labour; employment became not only more plentiful, but, as agriculture improved, more continuous during both summer and winter. Wages rose rapidly. Arthur Young and Tooke both express the opinion that, though down to 1793 there was no great advance, yet as between 1760 and 1812, wages doubled. It may not be possible, in so difficult a field of

enquiry as real wages, to prove the fact of so great a rise. But the advance was at any rate very substantial, if the 1s. 2d. a day of 1770 is accepted as the starting-point. In Essex, for instance, the 'Reports to the Board of Agriculture' for 1794 and 1804 state that wages stood respectively at the winter and summer average of 9s. 1½d. and 14s. 4d. a week. In the 'Board of Trade Report on Agricultural Wages' (1909) an instance is given of an Essex farm labourer, without the care of stock, whose wages rose from 10s. 6d. a week in 1800 to 12s. a week in 1802, and to 15s. a week in 1812.

It is not contended that this rise in wages was adequately proportioned to the advance in the cost of necessities. If wages doubled, prices probably trebled. It is only urged that, for the sake of accurate conclusions, it is preferable to mention, rather than to ignore, the substantial advance in agricultural wages. Hasbach can scarcely be regarded as a prejudiced witness in favour of landlords. But, in his 'History of the English Agricultural Labourer' (Eng. trans. 1908, p. 183), he expresses the conviction that, though labourers suffered, as did every other class, during the war, they probably were, 'till 1813 or 1814,' 'in a better position than can be statistically proved.'

By ignoring this rise in wages, Mr Hammond is enabled to reach conclusions more suitable to his purpose. It is true that, up to 1795, wages advanced but little on the rates of a quarter of a century earlier. It is true, also, that the adverse season and deficient harvest of that year forced the price of provisions up to famine height. In a disastrous attempt to meet this disproportion between wages and prices, the Berkshire Justices, by the so-called Speenhamland Act, established a minimum or living wage out of the Poor Rates, proportioned to the price of bread and the size of families. The same principle was subsequently applied in other counties. Mr Hammond altogether omits the substantial advance in wages which undoubtedly took place between 1795 and 1812. He is thus able to represent the situation of 1795, though 'masked by the general prosperity of the times,' as prevailing throughout the war. In other words, landlords were realising fortunes, farmers were engaging butlers and liveried footmen, and labourers were starving

and pauperised. The picture is undoubtedly arresting ; but its effect is produced by very doubtful processes.

In dealing with the agrarian riots of 1830, or, as he more picturesquely styles them, 'The Last Labourers' Revolt,' Mr Hammond is faced with one serious difficulty. He has throughout the volume traced the distress of rural districts to the tyranny of Enclosure Acts, which broke up open-field farms and divided commons. He states that 'Kent was the scene of the first disturbances.' Unfortunately for his argument, there is no trace whatever of any Act ever having been passed for the enclosure of land in Kent, which is described as an enclosed county even by Elizabethan writers. The proverbial 'yeoman of Kent,' especially in his interpretation of the word, might have suggested to him the real facts. From Kent, as he tells us, the disturbance spread to Sussex. This again, is unfortunate. The total area of land enclosed by Acts of Parliament in Sussex did not exceed 14,000 acres ; and, of the disturbed villages mentioned by Mr Hammond, only one was possibly affected by any of this legislation. Assuming that the Warblington of the Act is Mr Hammond's 'Warbleton,' this village was one of a group of three in which a total area of 320 acres was enclosed in 1819. To anyone who is attempting a careful study of the causes of the agrarian riots in Kent and Sussex, these facts might possibly have suggested that he was pursuing a wrong track. Perhaps a straw of detail may suggest the direction of the wind. Sir Godfrey Webster of Battle Abbey, for many years member for the county, 'displayed,' according to Mr Hammond, 'great zeal and energy' in the emergency. In order to detract from the merit, or add to the iniquity, of Sir Godfrey's exertions, we are told that he was 'chiefly famous as Lady Holland's first husband.' Whether true or false, the bearing of this statement on the discharge of magisterial duties is not obvious. But it is untrue, for Lady Holland's first husband committed suicide thirty years before.

One other point made by Mr Hammond in his history of the agrarian riots may be noticed. He calls attention to the hostility of the farmers to the tithe, and their attempt to enlist the labourers on their side. Mr Hammond has already stated that 'tithes were originally taxation for four objects: (1) the bishop, (2) the main-

tenance of the fabric of the church, (3) the relief of the poor, (4) the incumbent.' If this means anything, it means that, after the payment of tithes had become a legal liability, this four-fold allocation of the proceeds was still maintained in this country. For the statement in this form, there is not a rag, or even a thread, of historical evidence, and it is extremely doubtful whether the quadripartite division ever existed in this country outside the monasteries. But, in Mr Hammond's opinion apparently, farmers in 1830 knew better, and desired to join the labourers with them in restoring the usages of primitive Christianity. The real grievances of farmers were the practice of taking tithes in kind, and their incidence, under the existing law, on the produce of the land. Various substitutes for collection in kind were adopted. Corn-rents, compositions either by the acre or on the pound of rent, valuations of crops in the field, and moduses, were all substitutes. But none removed the objection to the payment as incident on the produce. If a man improved his holding by a large expenditure of capital and labour, the tithe-owner profited, though he shared neither the risk nor the expense. Tithes thus became a check upon improvement, a charge which was increased by good farming or diminished by bad. Mr Hammond might perhaps have explained these practical reasons for the dislike which Kentish and Sussex farmers entertained to tithes, or at least suggested them as an alternative to crediting them with a critical knowledge of Anglo-Saxon documents. Had he done so, he might have been led to add the fact that, both in Kent and Sussex, a very large proportion of the rectorial tithe was still gathered in kind, which of all forms of payment was the most exasperating.

Space does not permit the further pursuit of Mr Hammond's course. It is to be regretted that warm sympathy with human suffering should so often have marred his sense of justice, and that so much excellent writing should have been, apparently, composed at Limehouse.

ROWLAND E. PROTHERO.

## Art. 8.—JOHN HENRY NEWMAN.

*The Life of John Henry, Cardinal Newman, based on his Private Journals and Correspondence.* By Wilfrid Ward. Two vols. London : Longmans, 1912.

MR WARD'S *Life of Newman* is a permanent contribution to Church History. It is the work of a lifetime, in the sense that his other works have been subsidiary to it; it is the centre to which they converge. For Newman was the sun round which the lesser luminaries of his system circled; their movement and light were derived from him. Mr Ward has peculiar qualifications for the task to which he has addressed himself. He stands in the first rank of biographers; he has had access to full and authentic sources; and, above all, he is steeped in his subject. More than anyone of our own, perhaps even of Newman's generation, he has assimilated Newman's mind. He has done so, indeed, with a difference. The temperaments of the two men are dissimilar. To the gusts of passion which shook Newman—to his sensibility, his indignation, his scorn—Mr Ward is a stranger. He has adopted Newman's standpoint rather than his personality, his conclusions rather than the mental and moral process by which they were attained. This is why, when he writes *about Newman*, we have an exact but not a very lifelike portrait. We miss the movement of the original; the versatility, the fire are gone. In the present work this want is compensated by the free use which has been made of the Cardinal's journal and correspondence. The unreserve with which these have been drawn upon is remarkable. It is notorious that during his best years Newman was distrusted by and out of sympathy with his ecclesiastical superiors. As Mr Ward puts it, 'He saw too much for a man of action.' When Talbot wrote to Manning, 'Dr Newman is the most dangerous man in England,' he expressed the view all but universally held at Rome. These strained relations lasted till the death of Pius IX; he made no secret of his opinion about the policy of that pontiff—a policy resumed, after the Leonine interlude, by the present Pope. A Catholic biographer must have been exposed to no small temptation to suppress inconvenient facts and to waterdown disedifying expressions of opinion;

the more so as their publication can scarcely be welcome in quarters whose authority he is not free to question, and to persons who have means of making their displeasure felt. That Mr Ward has exercised a certain discretion in the use of his material is probable; how his book will be received by authority remains to be seen. But his outspokenness is great. So much has been told us that it is difficult to think that anything of importance has been concealed. The result is a masterpiece of biography, a profoundly painful picture, and a criticism of the Church of Rome from within—a criticism, it will seem to many, more damaging, because it is unconscious, than anything that has come from the avowedly Modernist school.

Newman stands high among the founders of what may be called Neo-Catholicism. The Catholic Church of the eighteenth century was a social rather than an intellectual or a moral force. It was part of the established order of things; it was neither aggressive nor propagandist; it asked no more than to be let alone. With the nineteenth came the reaction from the Revolution, represented by De Maistre on the political, by mystics like the *Curé d'Ars* on the religious, and by Newman on the intellectual side. The first saw in the Papacy the foundation of the social fabric; the second won men by a saintliness whose inspiration, little as it might be suspected, was independent of Church and creed; the third carried the war into the enemies' camp, exposing the weak points of popular Protestantism, and arguing for the identity of the notion of Christianity with that of the Roman Church. Newman was a great man of letters, and a master of English prose; his knowledge of certain sides of human nature was instinctive; he was a subtle and, within limits, an acute thinker; and he was one of the most consummate advocates who ever lived. He possessed the temperament of the artist in an exceptional degree; it does not make for the happiness either of its possessor or of those about him. 'Deep natures' (says Mr Ward) 'are not the most equable. There will be bitter as well as sweet. Where there is intense love and gratitude there will be at times deep anger, deep resentment.' He was not easy to live with; Manning's view of him—and it was shared by more friendly judges—was that he was 'difficult to understand.' His transports of emotion were tempestuous.

'Christie walked with him from Oxford to Littlemore when the great separation of 1845 was approaching. Newman spoke never a word all the way, and Christie's hand, when they arrived, was wet with Newman's tears. When he made his confession in Littlemore chapel his exhaustion was such that he could not walk without help. When he went to Rome to set right the differences with his brethren of London . . . he walked barefoot from the halting-stage of the diligence all the way to St Peter's. When Ambrose St John died, he threw himself on the bed by the corpse, and spent the night there.' ('Life,' i, 21.)

Such a life is not normal; one cannot mistake the overstrain.

Newman had in an eminent degree the skill in verbal fence characteristic of the Oxford of his generation; but his mastery of expression was greater than his knowledge of fact. In this respect he resembled Mr Gladstone. Both had accustomed themselves to an 'economy' in the use of language to such an extent that plain men were often at a loss to know what they really meant. Reasoning meant more to him than truth, tradition than testimony. 'A fact is not disproved because the testimony is confused and insufficient'; and, 'As if evidence were the test of truth!'<sup>\*</sup> But in figures and modes and fine shades of meaning he was an expert; he analysed conceptions and refined upon terms. Never consciously insincere, he constantly gave the impression of insincerity. You could not detect the fallacy, but a true instinct told you it was there. Hence the distrust inspired by 'that subtle and delicately lubricated illative rhetoric by which you are led downwards on an exquisitely elaborated inclined plane, from a truism to a probability, from a strong probability to a fair probability, and from a fair probability to a pious but most improbable belief.'<sup>†</sup>

'When we start with assuming that miracles are not unlikely, we are putting forth a position which lies imbedded, as it were, and involved in the great revealed fact of the Incarnation. So much is plain at starting; but more is plain too. Miracles are not only not unlikely, they are positively likely; and for this simple reason, because, for the most part, when God begins, He goes on. We conceive that when He first did

<sup>\*</sup> 'Essay on Miracles,' pp. 171, 231.

<sup>†</sup> 'Philomythus,' p. 32.



a miracle, He began a series; what He commenced, He continued; what has been, will be. Surely this is good and clear reasoning.\*

From this position the advance is easy to 'the liquefaction of the blood of St Januarius at Naples and the motion of the eyes of the pictures of the Madonna in the Roman States.' Hence the sense of insecurity with which his dialectical victories inspire us. The superstructure was brilliant, but it was built on sand. His life was one long crusade against the outlook over the world which he knew as 'Liberalism'; he left this Liberalism triumphant along the whole line. 'Now it is scarcely a party; it is the educated lay world,' he says himself in the 'Apologia' (cap. v). His name is associated with a movement which the English mind refused to take seriously, and which, while it has left a profound mark on the Anglican clergy, has driven a wedge between the English people and the English Church. He gave up all to follow his ideal; but, like the shores of Ausonia, as he advanced it retreated. The Church of the Fathers could not be reproduced in the nineteenth century. His conception of it, if unlike the actual Church of England, was at least as unlike the actual Church of Rome.

Nothing shows more clearly how far we have passed from the Oxford Movement than the effort of imagination required to picture the Oxford in which it originated. Newman described it in 'Loss and Gain'; but it is a world very remote from us. Lord Coleridge writes of the Sunday afternoon sermons at St Mary's: 'There was scarcely a man of note in the University, old or young, who did not during the last two or three years of Newman's incumbency habitually attend the services and listen to the sermons.' We simply cannot reconstruct the situation. There has been no second Newman; but, if there were twenty, Oxford would not be affected in this way. It is not that there is less religion than formerly; it is probable that there is more. But it finds other modes of expression; the climate has changed. The distinctive note of the unreformed Oxford in which Newman was so dominant a figure was its provincialism; it stood outside the main stream of the European mind.

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\* 'Present Position of Catholics,' pp. 298 (306).

German, in spite of Bishop Lloyd's efforts, was almost unknown; 'Phrontisterion' showed the level of speculative thinking; in theology every extravagance found a congenial home. As a divine, Newman did not rise above this level. His pulpit commentary on the massacre of the Canaanites—men, women and children—by the Israelitish tribesmen under Joshua is typical. 'Doubtless, as they slew those who suffered for the sins of their fathers, their thoughts turned, first to the fall of Adam, next to that unseen state where all inequalities are righted.'\* His dialectic, acute as it was, confined itself to the analysis of received terms and current conceptions. He did not attempt to go behind them; this, as David Lewis (who had been his curate) used to say, he would have thought wrong.

He had taken over from popular thought and Puritan tradition certain hard and fast antitheses—the religious and the secular, the supernatural and the natural, the Church and the world. These distinctions, taken absolutely, are misleading; they land us in a dualism which breaks up the essential unity of experience. More particularly is it fatal to the conception of movement in thought and in things. It sees the world as a series of fixed quantities; it forms stereotyped notions, corresponding to stereotyped objects of thought. But there are no fixed quantities in Nature, and consequently no fixed notions in thought. To conceive things in this way is to misconceive them. For us the world is a process; a thing becoming, not a thing become. To some this is 'a hard saying'; in religion, in particular, it cuts the ground (they think) from under their feet. For the theology which it offers is still in the making; it is subversive of preconceived ideas; it leaves many questions unanswered; it excludes, perhaps too deliberately, edification from its aim. It appears, consequently, inconclusive and half-hearted. Newman turned from it on both grounds; it offended at once his sense of completeness and his sensibility. His mission, as he conceived it, was 'one of relentless war against the "Liberalism" in thought that was breaking up ancient institutions in Church and State, and would not cease from its work till it had

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\* 'Parochial and Plain Sermons,' iii, 187.

destroyed religion.' There have been times when it has seemed to be so; when good men have distrusted learning because 'a little learning' has proved 'a dangerous thing.' But the remedy has been not retreat, but advance; not less, but more knowledge; that twofold faith which has been described as 'faith in criticism and faith in God.' If it is too much to say that Newman never attained to either, it is certain that he never succeeded in uniting the two. Evangelical as his early training had been, he looked at Evangelical religion from without. The terrors of the law held him. He believed, but 'joy and peace in believing' were not his. In his sermons fear is a more prominent motive than love; God is presented rather as a centre of dogma than as a loving Father; the Gospel is not so much a message of salvation as a menace of judgment to come. He looked at Christianity as a creed—which it is not; and demanded from it a system—which it does not possess. And it was all or nothing. Protestantism 'is but the inchoate state or stage of a doctrine, and its final resolution is in Rationalism';\* the conception of religion as a vital process, a thing living in and with the life of the race and the individual, was one which he never reached.

The old High Church party had not died out at Oxford. It had become somewhat soaked in port, and stiff-jointed with Erastianism; but men like Routh represented a certain learning and tradition. They were in the succession of the Caroline divines; and behind these stood those great, if ill-defined, figures, the Fathers, to whose authority the Reformers had appealed. Here, it seemed, was the solid ground Newman was in search of. 'I ever kept before me' (he says) 'that there was something greater than the Established Church, and that that was the Church Catholic and Apostolic, set up from the beginning, of which she was but the local presence and the organ. She was nothing, unless she was this.'† This ecclesiastical conception of Christianity was the distinctive note of Tractarianism; and it was Newman's ambiguous legacy to the English Church—ambiguous, because it is capable of two interpretations, a spiritual and a material. 'Ecclesia spiritus, non est Ecclesia

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\* 'Essays Critical and Historical,' i, 294.

† 'Apologia,' cap. i.

numerus episcoporum';\* and the unity which signifies is interior, one of direction and life. The permanent element in religion is not this or that setting which it assumes, and may discard, in history, but the Christian idea. It was, however, on its external side that the conception of unity appealed to Newman; it led him logically and inevitably to Rome. An external Church postulates an external ruler; an external creed an external exponent; an external revelation an external (and, by an easy process of reasoning, an infallible) court of appeal. The deduction is obvious; it is the premisses that are faulty. It has been forgotten that the conceptions employed are abstract, and have no corresponding realities in the world of things. The Catholic notion of the Church is an artificial construction; it exists for thought only. Apply it to the English or any other Reformed Church, and the misfit is palpable, the conception breaks down. With the Roman Catholic Church the want of correspondence, though no less real, is less obvious. Its great scale, its apparent antiquity, its lofty pretensions, and, above all, the magic of the mighty name of Rome, make it possible for those who are ignorant of one half of the facts and misconceive the other to fit them to the theory.

It seems absurd to speak of ignorance in connexion with so eminent a man as Newman. But the Oxford of his time was, as has been said, provincial, and his learning, compared with that of men like Thirlwall or Milman, moderate. If, as Mr Ward tells us, Dollinger spoke of his knowledge of the first three centuries as 'almost unrivalled,' it can only be accounted for by remembering that these centuries were not Dollinger's special period; and that at the time (1857) they were, particularly to Catholic scholars, an almost unexplored field. Pattison judged differently.

'The force of his dialectic, and the beauty of his rhetorical exposition were such that one's eye and ear were charmed, and one never thought of enquiring on how narrow a basis of philosophical culture his great gifts were expended. A. P. Stanley once said to me, "How different the fortunes of the Church of England might have been, if Newman had been

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\* Tertullian, 'De Pudic.,' 21.

able to read German!" That puts the matter in a nutshell; Newman assumed and adorned the narrow basis on which Laud had stood two hundred years before. All the grand development of human reason, from Aristotle down to Hegel, was a sealed book to him. There lay a unity, a unity of all thought, which far transcended the mere mechanical association of the unthinking members of the Catholic Church; a great spiritual unity by the side of which all sects and denominations shrink into vanity.\*

This is why, great as was his weight with a section of the religious world—and even of this world it was but a section—the trained intellect of his time passed him by. To the representatives of English speculation and science, to the historians, the poets, the men of letters who were his contemporaries, he was no more than a name.

Did he know what the Roman Church and her clergy were when he seceded?

‘Urbem quam dicunt Romam, Melibcæ, putavi  
Stultus ego huic nostræ similem.’

The rift soon declared itself, and increased with years. By the old English Catholics he was impressed favourably. They were not at all in good odour at Rome,† where less wholesome influences were in the ascendant; but they were moderate, devout, and often well read. ‘Everything I saw impressed me with the idea of *simplicity*,’ he writes from St. Edmund’s; at Oscott he notices, good-humouredly, that the punch—‘they said again and again that it was made of lemon and sugar’—was ‘remarkably stiff,’ and that he was obliged to dilute it freely; at Prior Park, ‘I do not think it is a school of perfection, but of sensible as well as earnest religion’; Dr Brindle is ‘a gentleman in the true sense of the term.’‡ Even then, however, these old-fashioned priests were dying out. The needs of the growing Catholic body called for an increase in the number of clergy; the substitution of English and Irish for foreign seminaries lowered both the training and the type. With this depreciation of standard went an exaltation of temper, an exaggeration of language, and an extravagance of aim. Wiseman’s Pastoral ‘from out the Flaminian Gate’ was

\* Memoirs, p. 210.

† Ward, i, 174.

‡ Ib. i, 103, 104, 110.

an example. Pius IX waged open war against civilisation; Manning informed his Anglo-Irish clergy that it was their mission 'to subdue an Imperial race.' Ritual was developed; novel Italian devotions were encouraged; Faber wrote of the Mother of the Saviour as 'Dearest Mamma.' To Catholics of the traditional type, whether clergy or laity, these follies were profoundly distasteful.

'To try to transform "Englishmen into Romans," was, in Lingard's opinion, as undesirable as it was impracticable. And he expressed the devout wish that the subject for discussion at Dr Wiseman's *soirées* might be, "How to send away those swarms of Italian congregationists who introduce their own customs, and by making religion ridiculous in the eyes of Protestants prevent it from spreading here."'

Newman shared this view. He distrusted these tendencies; he recognised their futility, and foresaw their results. He was not, needless to say, what is now called a Modernist; he was not even, in the sense in which Acton was, a Liberal Catholic. He was, at most, a semi-Liberal: but from circumstances the leadership of the Cave of Adullam in which the disaffected congregated became his. When that egregious person Monsignor Talbot wrote to Manning, 'To be Roman is to an Englishman an effort. Dr Newman is more English than the English. His spirit must be crushed,' the new Archbishop answered:

'What you write about Dr Newman is true. . . . He has become the centre of those who hold low views about the Holy See, are anti-Roman, cold and silent, to say no more, about the Temporal Power, national, English, critical of Catholic devotions, and always on its lower side. . . . I see much danger of an English Catholicism, of which Newman is the highest type. It is the old Anglican, patristic, literary, Oxford tone transplanted into the Church. It takes the line of deprecating exaggerations, foreign devotions, Ultramontanism, anti-national sympathies. In one word, it is worldly Catholicism, and it will have the worldly on its side.'

Newman had no wish to lead the disaffected; there was indeed a time at which he inclined to the other side. When Faber and his community of Wilfridians joined

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\* 'Life and Letters of John Lingard,' p. 353.

† Purcell's 'Life of Manning,' II, 322.

him (1848), he threw himself, probably with a certain effort, into their ideas. He Italianised indiscriminately; he used deliberately hurtful and offensive language about the English Church. 'As years went on such language became less congenial to him,' Mr. Ward tells us (i, 204); and with regard to popular devotions he fell back upon the more sober view. But his credulity was amazing. He is indignant at a doubt as to St Winifrid having carried her head after decapitation; 'we saw the blood of St Patrizia half liquid, i.e. liquefying, on her feast day'; he accepts the legend of the miraculous transit of the Holy House of Loreto—'if you ask me why I believe it, it is because *everyone* believes it at Rome' (i, 198). Mr Ward complains that the whole philosophical ground for his readiness to believe was passed over by Kingsley without notice. It will seem to most of us that a philosophy which produces such fruits cannot be taken seriously. Nor is the habit of mind which it engenders speculative only; superstition passes over inevitably from the speculative to the moral sphere. Perhaps the strangest conclusion ever put upon a well-known Pauline phrase occurs in a letter (i, 241) written by him at this period.

'To feel yourself surrounded by all holy arms and defences, with the Sacraments week by week, with the Priests' Benedictions, with crucifixes and rosaries which have been blessed, with holy water, with places or with acts to which Indulgences have been attached, and the "whole Armour of God" . . . what can one ask, what can one desire more than this?'

Contrast this with the interpretation given to the words by their author. The whole difference between Catholicism and Protestantism is here.

This phase of fetishism was not lasting. It seems to have been reasoned rather than instinctive; this is probably what Mr Ward means by speaking of a 'philosophical ground' in connexion with it. With Newman reasoning invariably degenerated into sophistry; when he did not reason, he saw men and their motives, events and their drift, clearly enough. Any illusions which he may have entertained as to the wisdom of Rome were soon dispelled. No one knew what to do with him. He was placed in the College of the Propaganda with Syrian and Armenian seminarists—'a whole troop of blacka-



moors,' Father Neville calls them; he wonders 'what they will make of me, and whether they will find me out.' The state of ecclesiastical studies was a shock to him. 'He found, to his surprise, that both St Thomas and Aristotle were out of favour in Rome. Philosophising in general was suspect'; they remembered Lamennais, and were confirmed in their distaste for ideas. Theology was in little better case. Perrone scarcely went beyond catechetics; no one read English; Dalgairns had to arrange for the translation of the 'Essay on Development' into French. This famous treatise had been taken up by certain Unitarian writers in Boston; and the American bishops were up in arms against it. 'Of course they know nothing of antiquity, or of the state of the case,' was Newman's comment; in Rome they knew little, and, he found, cared less. Words meant much to them; ideas little. Their minds were full of contemporary controversies, which they viewed from the standpoint of policy. His language on Probability suggested Hermes; on Faith, Bautain; the Development theory started from the side of psychology rather than of logic; 'Newman miscet et confundit omnia,' was their view. The professors who 'are said to sway the theology of Rome are introducing *bits* (without having seen the whole book), *bits* of my Essay into their lectures to dissent from. This seems very absurd.' It was. But had they read the book from cover to cover it would have made no difference; they had neither understanding of nor interest in these things.

The Essay was an attempt to meet an obvious difficulty. The traditional appeal of the Catholic apologist was to antiquity. The notion of the perpetuity of the faith was vital to him; he transported the beliefs and usages of the modern into the primitive Church. They were not there. 'No, no' (as Hooker says); 'these opinions have youth in their countenance; antiquity knew them not, it never dreamed of them.'\* Newman was aware of this. But he was faced by a dilemma. Neither the Vincentian canon, 'quod semper, quod ubique et ab omnibus,' nor the obligation incumbent on Catholics to interpret Scripture 'according to the unanimous consent of the Fathers,' admits divergence; yet divergence there un-

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\* 'Eccles. Pol.,' vi, 4 (13).

questionably was. He fell back upon the argument by which Petavius had reconciled Ante- and Post-Nicene orthodoxy; the latter was implicit in the former, and was developed by the natural logic of ideas. Newman interpreted this theory in a wider sense and used it on a larger field. He granted large variations of teaching in the course of the Church's 1800 years. 'Nevertheless,' he argued, 'these, on examination, will be found to arise from the nature of the case, and to proceed on a law and with a harmony and a definite drift which constitute an argument in their favour, as witnessing to a superintending Providence and a great design in the mode and in the circumstances of their occurrence.'\* Some such way of escape was forced upon him; but it opened a wide, a very wide, door. The Roman divines, shrewd men of the world as they were, saw this, and would have none of it; on the other hand, their knowledge of history was too small to show them the impossibility of the traditional view. They lived, after their sort, for the moment; they disliked discussion; things would last their time.

It is impossible to suppose that so acute a mind as Newman's had overlooked the applications of which his theory was capable. But it was none of his business to point them out; he used it for a particular purpose, and no further; let others see to the rest. His apologetic was often reckless. Of Transubstantiation he writes:

'I cannot, indeed, prove it; I cannot tell how it is; but I say, "Why should it not be? What's to hinder it? What do I know of substance or matter? Just as much as the greatest philosophers; and that is nothing at all." . . . The Catholic doctrine leaves phenomena alone . . . it deals with what no one on earth knows anything about, the material substances themselves.' ('Apologia,' cap. v.)

The formula is saved by being emptied of meaning. On such reasoning anything may be anything else, and everything nothing. *Οὐ φροντὶς Ἰπποκλείδῃ*. Perrone admitted the principle of development; and Mr Ward (i, 185) argues that the difference between his view and Newman's was one 'almost entirely of expression.' No; what Perrone meant was a logical unfolding; Newman,

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\* 'Development,' Preface to ed. 3 (1878).

guarded as his language often is, held an organic process. For him ideas are 'still unfinished. The world is still in the making, and mankind is in the making too.'\* The conceptions differ materially; the latter admits of, and even invites, applications which the former excludes. A philosophy or a belief

'necessarily arises out of an existing state of things, and for a time savours of the soil.' Its vital element needs disengaging from what is foreign and temporary, and is employed in efforts after freedom which become more vigorous and hopeful as its years increase. Its beginnings are no measure of its capabilities, nor of its scope. At first no one knows what it is, or what it is worth. It remains perhaps for a time quiescent; it tries, as it were, its limbs, and proves the ground under it, and feels its way. From time to time it makes essays which fail, and are in consequence abandoned. It seems in suspense which way to go; it wavers, and at length strikes out in one definite direction. In time it enters upon strange territory; points of controversy alter their bearing; parties rise and fall around it; dangers and hopes appear in new relations; and old principles reappear under new forms. It changes with them in order to remain the same. In a higher world it is otherwise; but here below to live is to change, and to be perfect is to have changed often.' †

So spoke Faust to Margaret in the garden! Not only Roman theologians demurred. 'He places Christianity on the edge of a precipice, from whence a bold and strong hand would throw it over,' wrote Mr Gladstone; and Manning, then an Anglican, 'I am persuaded that Bishop Butler, if he were alive, would in his quiet way tear the whole argument into shreds. Is it not a refuge for the destitute, who can find no shelter in antiquity? It seems as if the thought of the *regula fidei*, and the tradition of dogma, and the whole oral confession of the faith seldom if ever crossed his mind.' ‡ They were right. Valid and inevitable as it is, the Development theory can only be used by those who are prepared to follow it out to its conclusions. Rome saw this from the first; and in our own time, though Newman's name was not mentioned, both it and his

\* W. R. Inge, 'The Church and the Age,' p. 36.

† 'Essay on Development,' p. 40.

‡ Purcell, 'Life of Manning,' i, 311-315.

doctrine of Probability have been repudiated. In the Syllabus of 1907 and the Encyclical by which it was followed the Church fell back upon the old lines.

Never was man so various. A primer of infidelity, said Huxley, could be compiled from his works. But so could one of belief; of Ultramontaniam and Cisalpinism; of traditionalism and science. Each of these opposites appealed to a side of his complex personality, and he threw himself into each with ardour. This made him a *frondeur*; he was a man with whom it was difficult to deal. Mr Ward compares his attitude towards the controversies of his day to that of Fénelon under similar circumstances. The comparison is apt. But we recall Bossuet's comment on his great rival: 'M. de Cambrai continue à faire le soumis de l'air du monde le plus arrogant.'\* That his views were disapproved in Rome is not wonderful. In Ireland his aim was to found a university; what the bishops wanted was a seminary on a larger scale. He desired to see Roman Catholics at Oxford; the Church, having pronounced against mixed education, declined to make an exception in favour of Englishmen of the upper and upper middle classes. In 1870 he opposed the definition of a dogma whose truth he did not call in question; Rome, with a desperate logic, defined it and defied fate. Our sympathy goes out to him—how could it be otherwise?—as we read Mr Ward's record of the rebuffs, slights and insults which he experienced. The story is not calculated to encourage secession; and, if we feel that he should have known better than to secede, that the bondage under which he suffered was self-chosen and one from which he could have freed himself, we may remember that a man is often his own gaoler; the tyrannies from which escape is most difficult are imposed from within. Mr Ward's contention is that these exterior trials did not affect his interior contentment. It may have been so. He protested that it was; and there is nothing to make us think that he ever questioned the ecclesiastical setting of Christianity, or the fact that this setting, if taken as authoritative, means Rome. But he made no secret of his disillusionment; and it is not surprising that he was

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\* Cf. 'The French Ideal,' by Mme Duclaux, p. 191.

believed to regret his secession, and even to have contemplated retracing his steps. He denied this in a vehemently-worded letter to a newspaper; but, in view of his similar, and subsequently retracted, disclaimer of the famous phrase, 'an aggressive and insolent faction,' in his letter to Bishop Ullathorne, the contradiction is not conclusive. His good faith in each case is beyond question. But moods vary, and memory plays men false. What is certain is that, if his divine faith in the Church remained unshaken, his human belief in her broke down.

'I have been accustomed to believe that, over and above that attribute of infallibility which attached to the doctrinal decisions of the Holy See, a gift of sagacity had in every age characterised its occupants; so that we might be sure . . . that what the Pope determined was the very measure or the very policy expedient for the Church of the time. . . . I am obliged to say that a sentiment which history has impressed upon me, and impresses still, has been very considerably weakened as far as the present Pope, Pius IX, is concerned, by the experience of the results of the policy which his chosen councillors have led him to pursue.' (Life, i, 388.)

Buoyancy was gone for ever: 'confidence in any superiors could never blossom in him again.' His thoughts went back wistfully to his old friends, to Oxford and to the past. The effect of this was far-reaching. He saw in the Roman Church the one ark of shelter from the flood of unbelief which, he thought, was rising and would rise 'till only the tops of the mountains were seen.' And now this ark, he saw, was unseaworthy. This was not the view of a malcontent. So strong an Ultramontane as W. G. Ward complained of 'our miserable state of intellectual degradation.' 'The whole philosophical fabric which occupies our colleges is rotten,' he wrote, 'from the floor to the roof. No one who has not been mixed up practically in a seminary would imagine to how great an extent it intellectually debauches the students' minds' (i, 473). Acton spoke of 'an illiterate episcopate, an ignorant clergy, a prejudiced and divided laity'; Manning of 'the incapacity of the Holy Office, the essential injustice of its procedure and its secrecy.\*' The system was shallow, pretentious and worldly.

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\* Purcell, Life, ii, 583.

'With the Cardinal [Wiseman] immediate show is fruit, and conversions the sole fruit. At Propaganda conversions, and nothing else, are the proof of doing anything. They must be splendid conversions of great men, noblemen, learned men, not simply of the poor. At Rome they have had visions of the whole of England coming over to the Church, and their notion of the instrumentality of this conversion *en masse* is the conversion of persons of rank. *Il governo* is all in all in their ideas. Such an idea is perhaps even conveyed in our Brief, which sends us [the Oratorians] to the upper classes.'

The jurisdiction of the Crown in Council had been exchanged for that of Propaganda. What had been gained? Propaganda was styled by Newman himself (i, 560)

'an arbitrary, military power. Propaganda is our only Court of Appeal; but to it the Bishops go, and secure it and commit it, before they move one step in the matter which calls for interference. And how is Propaganda to know anything about an English controversy, since it talks Italian? by extempore translation (I do not speak at random) or the *ex parte* assertion of some narrow-minded Bishop? . . . And who is Propaganda? virtually, one sharp man of business, who works day and night, and dispatches his work quick off, to the East and the West; a high dignitary, indeed, perhaps an Archbishop, but after all little more than a clerk, or (according to his name) a Secretary, and two or three clerks under him. In this age, at least, "*Quantula sapientia regimur!*"'

He would not, however, go beyond passive resistance. Acton never forgave his desertion of the 'Rambler' at a critical moment. His own view was that circumstances tied his hands. He would not co-operate with what appeared to him 'an aggressive and insolent faction'; nor would he, on the other hand, act in direct opposition to an authority which, though misused, he believed to be legitimate, and which even Acton was not prepared to resist to the end. The same dilemma has presented itself in more recent controversies. Unless a man is prepared to carry it through, opposition resolves itself into a game of bluff between the two parties, which is at once futile and undignified. If he means to retract, when called upon in a sufficiently menacing tone to do so, he had better have held his tongue. That this was Newman's view appears from his comment on the Munich

Brief of 1863. It is 'an intimation that we are simply to be silent while scientific investigation proceeds, and say not a word on questions of interpretation of Scripture, etc., etc., when perplexed souls ask us.' A strange attitude for a teaching Church! But 'I am not sure,' he concludes—surely with a touch of cynicism—'that it will not prove to be the best way.'

In 1863 his fortunes had reached their ebb. Had the end come then, 'his career would have lived in history as the saddest of failures; his biography would have been a tragedy.' The standards, social, moral and intellectual, of his co-religionists jarred upon him. Cullen treated him 'like a scrub'; Manning he distrusted; Wiseman had been 'personally unkind by word and deed.' The *ethos* of Rome was hateful to him. He had been delated for heresy by an obscure English bishop; this was a reminder that he was in the hands of a power that might crush him, whose touch was 'like the pat of a lion's paw.' The thought of being summoned to give an account of himself before the Roman tribunals haunted him like an evil dream. It meant, he believed, his death. 'It was the punishment of Dr Baines (1840-41) to keep him at the door of Propaganda for a year. This is the prospect which I cannot but feel probable, did I say anything which one Bishop in England chose to speak against and report. Others have been killed before me' (i, 588). To these exterior fears interior conflicts were added; the extract from his journal dated December 15, 1859 (i, 574), can scarcely be read without tears.

With Kingsley's singularly ill-judged attack, and his characteristically effective and adroit answer, the tide turned. Kingsley's main contention was one which has been widely held, and may be fairly argued. His blunder was his use of Newman's name in connexion with it; and the offence was aggravated by his refusal to withdraw his words. The 'Apologia' proved that Newman was a very much abler man than Kingsley—which no one who knew the two doubted; it does not prove more. But the pathos, the delicacy, the charm of his self-revelation placed him high in the regard of his countrymen, and of the sounder elements in his own Church. He became a person whom it was unsafe to attack. 'Every blow that touches you inflicts a wound on the



Catholic Church in this country,' said the Memorial addressed to him (1867) by the English laity. It was notorious to what quarter the warning was addressed. The reaction which he had foretold had come. He was right when he said: 'I don't think that active and honest minds can remain content under a dull tyranny. It seems impossible that they can remain quiet under the supremacy of Manning and Ward' (i, 566). For the rest of his life he was an immense reserve force in Catholicism. He was believed to have an answer for every difficulty, and a policy for every emergency. He invested the Church with a glamour which effectually disguised her true features; her unreason appeared reason, her narrowness breadth. More than any one man, he destroyed the Protestant legend; more than any one man, he created the Catholic myth. In detail both were unhistorical. But the perspective of the former was correct, and, as Mr Pollard has shown, must be regained.

The Vatican Council brought out Newman's most characteristic qualities. He was not an anti-Infallibilist. He held the doctrine of Papal Infallibility as a theological conclusion—that is, as an inference from premisses one of which at least is an article of faith. But he did not wish to see it defined. A definition of doctrine, he thought, was not 'a luxury of devotion,' but 'a stern, painful necessity'; and in the case of Infallibility no such necessity had been shown. There was nothing inconsistent in this attitude. The great majority of Catholics believe, to take a parallel case, in the Assumption of the Virgin; very few, it is safe to say, wish to see this belief made a dogma of faith. Newman's temper was conservative, and he felt for troubled consciences; the definition, he knew, would give rise to political and religious discussions and raise questions difficult, if not impossible, to solve. The tortuous policy of those who had engineered the situation disgusted him.

'Archbishop Manning tells Mr Odo Russell that its definition *has been long intended!* Long intended, and yet kept secret! Is this the way the faithful were ever treated before? is this in any sort of sense going back to tradition? For myself, after meditating on such crooked ways, I cannot help turning to our Lord's terrible warning, "*Væ mundo a scandalis!*" Is it wonderful that we should all be shocked?' (ii, 297).

The Roman cardinals, Infallibilists as they were, and not over-scrupulous, as they had, rightly or wrongly, the name of being, protested against Manning's lobbying. 'Non ita sunt tractandæ res Ecclesiæ,' said Cardinal Bilio; and the reproach, it seems, was not forgotten by the too zealous prelate to whom it was addressed.

Infallibility, though the most discussed, was not the only problem before the Council; the Canons dealing with Scripture and inspiration were calculated to cause the gravest anxiety. Newman 'felt that they were drawn up with no adequate regard to the questions which were being raised by contemporary Biblical criticism' (ii, 293). Of these the Bishops were profoundly ignorant; they were like children playing with edged tools, not knowing that they would cut, or with fire, not knowing that it would burn.

'There are two new dogmas in what has been defined about Scripture—first that Scripture is inspired. In the decree of Trent the Apostles are declared to be inspired, and they, thus inspired, are the fountain-head both of tradition and Scripture. Bouvier, I think, says that inspiration in Scripture is not defined, though it is "certissimum." Secondly, that by the "Testamenta" is meant, not the Covenants, but the collection of books constituting the Bible, of which in consequence, as well as of the Covenants, God becomes the "Auctor." . . . It seems to me that a perfectly new platform of doctrines is created, as regards our view of Scripture, by these new Canons—so far as this, that, if their primary and surface meaning is to be evaded, it must be by a set of explanations heretofore not necessary. Indeed, the whole Church platform seems to me likely to be off its ancient moorings; it is like a ship which has gradually swung round, or taken up a new position' (ii, 294-5).

Tradition broken down, assent replaced by evasion; was it worth having come so far to find so little? Was it not impossible either for a church or for the individual believer to stand outside the essential movement of things? After the definition Newman hoped, it appears, for some concerted action on the part of the minority bishops. When none came, he consoled himself by the relative moderation of the formula. 'Pius has been over-ruled; I believe he wished for a much more stringent dogma than he has got.' And the fall of the

Temporal Power in the same year seemed to him significant. 'It suggests the thought that to be at once infallible in religion and a despot in temporals is perhaps too great for mortal men' (ii, 380).

Newman's elevation to the cardinalate under Leo XIII, an act at once wise and gracious, was one of the many hopeful signs with which the new reign opened; and it is pleasant to think that in the evening of his days the cloud lifted that had pressed on him so heavily and so long. It was, perhaps, natural that his friends should over-estimate its significance. To the Pope, who did not know English, Newman was little more than a name. The appointment, he was told, would give satisfaction in England; and it was urged upon him by persons whom he wished to oblige. His policy was one of conciliation; he wished to establish a *modus vivendi* with civilisation, to make the Papacy (which had fallen into contempt under his predecessor) respected, to heal old sores. More than this he could not do—perhaps would not have done if he could. And his pontificate, important as it was, was an episode; with Pius X the reaction came. Newman did not live to see it. He passed 'ex umbris et imaginibus in veritatem' on August 11, 1890.

It is not to be regretted that, disillusioned as he was, and *injusta noverca* as was the Church of his adoption, he remained a Roman Catholic. The Reformation standpoint was not his; the fiction of Anglo-Catholicism could not have held him. 'I can understand a Catholic turning Liberal; my imagination fails as to the attempt to turn him into a Puseyite,' he wrote in 1868 (ii, 71); and though his influence led, and still leads, men to what he would have called Liberalism, a Liberal he was not and had never been. Manning was accustomed to say that temper had been his ruin. It would have been truer to say that temperament was the key to his career. It was temperament that led him to the Tractarian Movement, to Rome, and to anti-Vaticanism; the personal factor always plays the decisive part. The vulgarity of Ultramontanism offended him; he was not of that world. The *entourage* of Pius IX left a bad taste in the mouth. It is impossible to conceive him taking part in such a correspondence as that which passed between Manning and Talbot; anything like an appeal to ignorance was distasteful to him;

he was repelled by the 'Univers' under Veuillot and the 'Tablet' under Herbert Vaughan. He saw that the policy of the Vatican was over-reaching itself; it was in the interest of Catholicism that he minimised the Syllabus and opposed the Definition of 1870. And '*passus est humani aliquid*.' A less sensitive man than he would have resented the succession of slights to which he had been subjected by men notoriously his inferiors mentally and morally. He resented them deeply and bitterly; no one was less disposed than he to suffer gladly either fools or insolence.

He left a profound mark, both on the Church of his birth and on that of his adoption. The Oxford Movement meant a practical religious revival—more zeal, more devotion, more and, in many ways, more efficient work. But its foundation was insecure. In the world of ideas it was a negligible quantity; and though still dominant in the Church and among the clergy, there are signs 'that it has now about reached its height, and that it must soon begin to break up owing to certain internal contradictions which the enthusiasm of its adherents has hitherto masked or ignored.'\* The discrepancy between the theory and the facts is too radical to be blinked; the more we learn of Christian origins the more clearly these point to another reading of history. Nor has it increased the influence of the Church in the country. 'It is necessary to insist (since the contrary is so often asserted) that the last seventy years of Church life have been for the Church a period of decline.'† The Church is weaker and Dissent stronger than when the Oxford Movement began. In the Church of Rome Newman's influence has been for breadth and moderation. His philosophy of religion has kept Catholics in the Church who would otherwise have fallen away from her; the doctrine of Probability offered a way of escape to those who were unconvinced by the 'proofs' of the Scholastics; that of Development to those who recognised the gulf which lay between primitive or even patristic Christianity and Rome. It may be a question how far it is desirable to keep men in a church under a misconception of her teaching and tendencies. It is a compromise,

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\* Dean Inge in 'The Churchman,' February 1912.

† *Ib.*

and, like all compromises, inconsistent. But it has its uses, and may serve in a transition time.

Newman will live in literature as the author of a fascinating religious autobiography, in history as the author of the *Essay on Development*. The book is a striking anticipation of the Evolution philosophy; the application of this to theology marked a turning-point in religious thought. To many he was, and is, a prophet. To others he was a false prophet, from whose influence they have detached themselves hardly and after many years. The English Church owes him little; he deflected her course for close upon a century. Anglicanism of the ecclesiastical type owes him much; more than any one man he was its creator. Catholicism owes him more; he restored its prestige and its poetry; like the pious sons of Noah he 'went backwards' and threw a veil over its shame. He was a great magician; his spells made the dead live, and called the things that are not as though they were. But the efficacy of such spells vanishes with darkness. 'I awoke, and behold it was a dream.'

Yet surely he was a great man, more surely still an unhappy one; the impression of melancholy deepens at every page. The might-have-beens of history are an unprofitable field of speculation. Mr Birrell enlarges, plausibly enough, on the futility of the supposition that 'if he had not been brought up an evangelical, if he had learned German, if he had married, if he had been made an archdeacon, all would have been different.' Yet it is impossible to resist the conviction that the accident of birth placed him in the very time and in the very circumstances least propitious to the development of his genius on the lines of life. 'A Cardinal of the Roman Church is not, to say the least of it, more obviously a shipwreck than a dean or even a bishop of the English Establishment.' It may be so. But men may be divided into two classes according as they face onwards or backwards. And the tragedy of Newman's life is that, with his rare gifts, his in many ways unsurpassed powers, and his unique personality, he was the father of them that look back.

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Art. 9.—THE WONDERFUL ADVENTURES OF DR COOK.

*My Attainment of the Pole; being the record of the Expedition that first reached the Boreal Center, 1907-1909, with the final summary of the Polar Controversy.*  
By Dr Frederick A. Cook. New York: Polar Publishing Co.; London: Arlen and Co.; 1911.

AMONG the prodigies which have arisen in the latest stage of geographical exploration the mania for reaching the Poles of the Earth has a conspicuous place. It has the illusion of seeming ancient while really it is quite new—a thing of the present generation. In the dawn and in the noontide of geographical discovery the Poles were not regarded as objects of attainment in themselves. The early Arctic navigators were concerned in finding a short route to the Indies. Even a few years ago it was the fashion for Arctic explorers to deny that they had any ambition to reach the Pole; and they usually sought funds and the patronage of learned societies on the plea that they desired only to carry on scientific researches in the polar area. Nevertheless, everyone who could read between the lines has known that every Arctic explorer in the last twenty-five years has secretly, if not openly, cherished the hope, though he may have repudiated the intention, of being the first to reach latitude 90° N.

Admiral R. E. Peary worked at the problem of travelling to the Pole for more than twenty years, each successive journey teaching him something more or carrying him somewhat farther. The honesty of his efforts and their success were vouched for by the leading geographical societies of the world, which had awarded him their highest honours. His ultimate success in reaching the Pole in 1909 was the natural, and almost the inevitable, result of the earlier experience, and his known powers and character caused his reports to be accepted without question. The special medals awarded him for the feat, however, were not given without a careful examination of the records on which he relied, and a searching investigation into his method of taking observations. The fact that he reached the immediate vicinity of the Pole has been conceded by all competent authorities,

though by some it was conceded reluctantly enough, for Peary's relations with other Arctic travellers had not always been smooth and had made him some enemies, while the language of his books and magazine articles was much too grandiloquent and emotional to approve itself to the 'expurgate and sober' British taste in geographical literature. Peary's last and, to his mind, crowning journey was of little scientific value compared with his earlier work, just as Amundsen's penetration to the South Pole was less valuable to geography than his threading of the North West Passage. Yet in our hearts we allow that it is good that human beings have at last penetrated to the Poles, for it was humiliating to the self-respect of the race that any portion of our little planet should be inaccessible to its inhabitants.

When Admiral Peary's friends and the geographical world were waiting for news of his emergence from the Arctic regions in the autumn of 1909 with every expectation of hearing that he had this time fulfilled his ambition, a telegram from Lerwick, dated September 1, announced that Dr F. A. Cook had reached the North Pole and was coming on from Greenland to Copenhagen. Dr Cook was known as having accompanied Peary to the Arctic regions some years before, and as having acted as surgeon to the Belgian Antarctic expedition in 1897, on which he wrote an admirable book. He had also claimed the first ascent of Mt McKinley in Alaska in 1906, though this claim was not accepted by the leading mountaineers. It was known that he had gone north in 1907 and had remained there; but the report of his reaching the Pole was a great surprise. A fuller telegram two days later gave most detailed descriptions of the explorer's feelings of loneliness, hunger and triumph, repeated the much too precise statements of latitude and the incredible temperature of  $-83^{\circ}$  C., and gave the date of reaching the Pole as April 21, 1908, and that of leaving it as April 23. His only companions were two young Eskimo. On returning they reached land far to the west of their starting-point, spent a winter at Cape Sparbo on Jones Sound, returned northward to their original base in the spring of 1909, met an American sportsman, Mr Whitney, there, and 'moved northward' (a slip for *southward*) to Upernivik and so caught the Danish steamer for Europe. The long message



excited suspicion in some quarters and suggested many points of difficulty. But Copenhagen accorded to Dr Cook a reception worthy of a returning conqueror; banquets, medals and academic distinctions were showered on him. In reply to questions he smilingly assured his friends that he had 'absolute proofs' of having reached the Pole, which would be submitted for the most rigorous examination to the highest authorities; but he produced neither instruments nor records. Every question was answered by a pleasant promise; and he explained that the temperature of  $-83^{\circ}\text{C}$ . was really  $-83^{\circ}\text{F}$ ., and alleged that the error was due to the telegraph clerk at Lerwick.

On September 6 news came that Peary was on the coast of Labrador returning from the North Pole, which he had reached on April 6, 1909. The questions addressed to Dr Cook by sceptical newspaper correspondents now became more pressing, and his answers were contradictory; but at last he stated that his instruments, his diaries and his original records had all been left with Mr Whitney in Greenland for safe keeping, to be forwarded thence to America. That any explorer in his senses would travel from Annoatok to Upernivik, a distance of over 700 miles, as arduous as any part of the journey to the Pole, without a sextant to check his position, struck geographers as very peculiar; and that he should leave behind him the records the instant production of which would have been the only evidence of good faith he could show, seemed quite incredible. But Cook had by this time made strong partisans; and the unnecessary vehemence of Peary's denunciations raised a journalistic storm which swept the whole breadth of the United States. The dispute ceased to turn on the value or authority of observations, and became a mere war of words between two parties of personal friends and 'interested' newspapers. After many months Cook forwarded his 'proofs' to the University of Copenhagen. Before they reached Denmark, the American papers published an amazing 'confession' of two men named Dunkle and Loose to the effect that Dr Cook had paid them to work out backwards observations such as should have been recorded at the Pole, and that these were the figures sent in. The University of Copenhagen reported that Dr Cook had submitted no proof of having reached the Pole. Dr Cook was silent; he disappeared

from the United States, and for a year nothing was heard of him. Then a report appeared that he had acknowledged that when in the Arctic region his state of mind was such that he did not know whether he had reached the Pole or not. The public lost interest in the squabble, and Cook was forgotten as a discredited pretender, when the remarkable book mentioned at the head of this article appeared, reasserting all the old claims and offering extraordinary explanations of all the difficulties.

'My Attainment of the Pole' is a very different book from the same author's 'Through the First Antarctic Night.' The earlier work was clear, definite and precise, showing careful observation and some marks of scientific training and literary skill. The later volume has none of these qualities. It is vague, loose, verbose, full of patent inaccuracies and almost incredible flashes of ignorance; the language is bombastic and sometimes grotesque; and the object of the book is less to show how the North Pole was reached than to assure us in a crescendo of assertion that Frederick A. Cook was certainly the first and probably the only man to reach it. Dr Cook asserts, contrary to the opinion of all scientific men, that the proof of reaching the North Pole does not consist in an examination of instruments and records, or of the explorer's ability to use instruments and to calculate results. On the contrary, he says that 'History demonstrates that the book which gives the final authoritative narrative is the test of an explorer's claims. . . . In a similar way my claim of being first to reach the North Pole will rest upon the data presented between the covers of this book'; and again, that 'the proof of an explorer's doings is his final book, which requires months and years to prepare.' It is unfortunate for Dr Cook that he could not prepare his book, 150,000 words of which he says he wrote in the Arctic regions, before Admiral Peary published his account of a similar journey to the same goal accomplished a year later. But, as Dr Cook insists on his book being his sole witness as to credibility, we shall confine ourselves to it.

We acknowledge that the volume, as a speech for the defence, makes out a superficially plausible case; but it is not a body of evidence, and it leaves us, after a careful perusal, in some doubt whether the author is trying to

delude the public or has succeeded in deluding himself. Whichever be the truth, delusion is the prevalent atmosphere of the whole affair; and the animus of the writer is shown by the fact that he appears throughout as a sort of malevolent and malicious Mr Dick, who cannot draft his own memorial without for ever dragging in the King Charles's Head of Admiral Peary. The book is published by the Polar Publishing Company of New York, apparently a company created *ad hoc*. It is difficult to believe that any firm of established reputation would have issued such unwarrantable attacks upon Admiral Peary as this work contains; and it says much for the recovery of self-control in that gallant explorer that he has had the strength of mind to ignore these charges and refrain from giving the author further notoriety by bringing him into a court of law.

The attack on Peary strikes an impartial reader as the real object of the book, though the avowed purpose is to prove that Dr Cook reached the Pole. The attack fails on account of its very intensity. For example, after referring to the fact that theft is unknown among Eskimo, he adds:

'Unknown, yes, save when white men without honor, without respect for property or the ethics of humanity, which the Eskimos instinctively have, invade their region and rob them and fellow-explorers with the brazenness of middle-aged buccaneers' (p. 446).

He is indeed reluctant to say the worst about his enemy. 'Although Mr Peary did not scruple to lie about me, I still hesitate to tell the truth about him.' But he does not hesitate to insinuate what he would have us believe the truth to be.

'In the white, frozen North a tragedy was enacted which would bring tears to the hearts of all who possess human tenderness and kindness. This has never been written. To write it would still further reveal the ruthlessness, the selfishness, the cruelty of the man who tried to ruin me. Yet here I prefer the charity of silence' (pp. 519, 520).

On the opposite page is a photograph of an Eskimo woman with a baby on her back, and beneath is the title '“The Mother of Seals” and her deserted child.' In short, Milton's Satan and Goethe's Mephistopheles between

them could hardly have conceived and carried out the manifold and wide-spread iniquities imputed to 'the brutally selfish, brutally unscrupulous' rival, assisted by his 'clique of honour-blind boosters.' After pretty completely overcoming the hesitation to which we referred above, and describing Peary's enormities in some forty pages, Dr Cook concludes, 'I have been compelled to extreme measures of truth-telling that are abhorrent to me.' That, at least, we can well believe. Peary, it is true, lost his temper when he returned looking 'for crowns to fall,' and found that they were falling in wreaths of roses on Cook; but no one can wonder at it, for he knew then all that Cook has now revealed to us of his animosity against Peary. We know that it is universally recognised that, whatever may be his faults of taste, Peary is a man of high character and honourable conduct; and the malignant and unjustifiable attack made upon him recoils upon his assailant.

Before we go on to consider graver matters, we cannot help calling attention to the style in which the book is written, and to the ignorance or misuse of the English language which it displays. 'In the making of this book,' says the author, 'I was relieved of much of the routine editorial work by Mr T. Everett Harry. By his ceaseless study of the subject and his rearrangement of material, a book of better literary workmanship has been made.' What its earlier embryonic condition must have been staggers the imagination, for even after all Mr Harry's care the literary workmanship not unfrequently suggests the collaboration of a learned Babu, or that of the author of the famous Portuguese guide.

Let us take a few examples of Dr Cook's—or is it Mr Harry's?—'English as she is spoke.' When in a state of starvation, the author writes, 'We were blinded to everything except the dictates of our palates' (p. 368). At the Pole, 'Time was a negative problem' (290); and in its neighbourhood, 'over the horizon, mirages displayed celestial hysterics' (p. 317). A little later, 'With a magnificent cardinal flame, the sun rose, gibbered in the sky, and sank behind the southern cliffs on November 3' (p. 408). Again, 'The coast-line here is paradoxically curious, for, although the coast exceeds but barely more than 200 miles of latitude, it presents in reality a sea-

line of about 4000 miles' (p. 46). Our author is apt to revel in metaphor; referring to Peary, he says, 'I felt sure that the hand which did the besmearing was silhouetted against the blackness of its making.' And here is a gem of journalistic Americanese: 'the never-to-be-forgotten days of the enervating chill of zero's lowest at  $-83^{\circ}$  F.' (p. 181). Finally, take the following piece of unreserved autobiography (p. 26):

'My boyhood was not happy. As a tiny child I was discontented, and from the earliest days of consciousness I felt the burden of two things which accompanied me through later life—an innate and abnormal desire for exploration, then the manifestation of my yearning, and the constant struggle to make ends meet, that sting of poverty which, while it tantalises one with its horrid grind, sometimes drives men by reason of the strength developed in overcoming its concomitant obstacles to some extraordinary accomplishment.'

That child was certainly the father of this man, and the 'extraordinary accomplishment' is before us. It is at the best what Tennyson called 'confessions of a second-rate sensitive mind.' We do not question that Dr Cook has a great capacity for suffering or that he has suffered much. The pangs of jealousy, the stings of ambition, and the strenuous fight with a terrible climate and other hardships were enough to make him acutely miserable. Whether he reached the North Pole or not, whether he was capable of finding his positions or not, we have no reason to doubt that he spent two years in the far north, living on horrible food and in constant association with people who, whatever their many excellences, were very disagreeable companions for a white man of civilised habits. But what was the result of these privations? Did he reach the goal of his ambitions, those ambitions which he describes with some eloquence in the following passage (p. 64);

'As we sped over the magical waters, the wild golden air electric about me, I believe I felt an ecstasy of desire such as mystics achieved from fasting and prayer. It was the surge of an ambition which began to grow mightily within me, which I felt no obstacle could withstand, and which, later, I believe carried me forward with its wings of faith when my body well-nigh refused to move.'

The wings of faith are indeed mighty, but, before our own are moved to follow Dr Cook in his course of triumph, we are bound to ask for his credentials. Defects of style are doubtless compatible with honesty; and, though the attack on Admiral Peary betrays a rancour and a disregard for truth and justice which throw grave discredit on the whole story, it is not enough in itself to disprove Dr Cook's 'Attainment of the Pole.' Let us apply other tests. And first, what of his general accuracy of statement and scientific knowledge? Some light may be thrown on these points by the following passages: 'Out of the inky water a walrus lifted its head. I saw its long, white, spiral ivory tusk and two phosphorescent eyes' (p. 124). What he saw was clearly a narwhal, not a walrus; and to show that this was not a mere slip of the pen, he repeats the mistake on the next page. His knowledge of physiological processes may be inferred from the observation that 'With us sugar in the process of digestion turns into fat, and fat into body fuel'; and his knowledge of elementary anatomy from the remark (p. 275) that under a strong light 'the iris was reduced to a mere pin-hole.' When the thermometer stood at  $-68^{\circ}$  F., 'Burning but three pounds of oil all night, the almost liquid air was reduced to a normal temperature of freezing point.' Now, air liquefies at a temperature below  $-200^{\circ}$  F. Strange things happen in northern latitudes, but few stranger can have happened than when Dr Cook saw, among a group of ptarmigan, 'two singing capons cooing notes of love to a shy chick' (p. 338). Like Joshua, he can do what he likes with the heavenly bodies. Having told us, at a certain stage of his journey, that the 'perpetual sun' gave light and colour but little warmth, he continues, 'The sun rose into zones of fire and set in burning fields of ice' (p. 261). At his bidding mountains miraculously rise to unheard-of heights. 'As we crossed the big bay to the east of Cape Sparbo, our eyes were fixed on the two huge Archæan (*sic*) rocks which made remarkable landmarks, rising suddenly to an altitude of about 18,000 feet' (p. 378). We cannot help recalling some little miscalculations as to the altitudes which he claimed to have reached on Mount McKinley. On his return to civilisation, the welcome which he received evidently turned his head.

'An entire day,' he says (p. 473), 'was spent autographing photographs for members of the royal family'; and a little later (p. 496) he 'shook hands until the flesh of one finger was actually worn through to the bone.' After such experiences our sense of wonder becomes exhausted.

It is not remarks of this kind that we require in such a story as this, but accurate observations of scientific fact. These are strangely lacking. A general vagueness of description mars the whole narrative of the alleged attainment of the Pole and the return to civilisation. Dr Cook cannot tell the date of his return to Annoatok or that of his arrival at Upernivik (which he persistently misspells 'Upernavik'), nor even that of the sailing of the ship which brought him home. Though he lived for more than a year alone with the two young Eskimo, E-tuk-i-shook and Ah-we-lah, we learn nothing of their separate characters; they were, in description, as in their photographs, mere skin-clad shadows indistinguishable the one from the other. The dogs also are simply abstractions of dogs; the names of none of them are mentioned, and no dog stands out beyond its fellows. We learn that the Eskimo were timorous about travelling far on the sea-ice out of reach of land; therefore Dr Cook assured them that various cloud-banks or mirages which accompanied them towards the Pole were real land. Hence, he explains, they asserted quite truly according to their lights that he was never more than 'two sleeps' away from land. Only it is to be noted that he did not mention the innocent fraud he practised on his savage friends until they had told Peary about the 'two sleeps.'

In the narrative telegraphed from Lerwick Dr Cook says, referring apparently to the dates between April 16 and 21, 'good astronomical observations were daily secured to fix advancing stages.' In the book 'a lucky series' of observations is referred to at this time, and a few of them are quoted and the workings shown. Had these been produced at once on Dr Cook's return it would have been valuable evidence, for he did not know enough of astronomical observations to invent them; but after the lapse of two years they prove nothing. The author allows that Dunkle and Loose did work out just such a set of figures, for which he paid them, though he says he did not use their work.



Of the approach to the Pole we read :

'We all were lifted to the paradise of winners as we stepped over the snows of a destiny for which we had risked life and willingly suffered the tortures of an icy hell. The ice under us, the goal for centuries of brave, heroic men, to reach which many had suffered terribly and terribly died, seemed almost sacred. Constantly and carefully I watched my instruments in recording this final reach. Nearer and nearer they recorded our approach. Step by step my heart filled with a strange rapture of conquest. At last we step over coloured fields of sparkle, climbing walls of purple and gold—finally, under skies of crystal blue, with flaming clouds of glory, we touch the mark! The soul awakens to a definite triumph; there is sunrise within us, and all the world of night-darkened trouble fades. We are at the top of the world! The flag is flung to the frigid breezes of the North Pole!' (p. 284).

This is sheer rubbish. No instruments can indicate an approach to the Pole while the observer is walking along. Two photographs of the flag 'flung to the frigid breezes' from the top of a snow-house show that no wind at all was blowing; in one it is held extended by an Eskimo; in the other it is hanging limp along the staff. Dr Cook says, 'My shadow, a dark purple-blue streak with ill-defined edges, measures twenty-six feet in length'; and again, 'A picture of the snow-house and ourselves taken at the same time and developed a year later gives the same length of shadow.' The photographs, which are published, show no trace of any shadow; they appear to have been taken on a dull day with uniformly diffused light. We leave Dr Cook on the horns of this dilemma. Either the observations of the sun's altitude and his own shadow are inventions, or the photographs published of the snow-house and flag at the North Pole were not taken on the day or at the place alleged. He may impale himself on either horn he pleases. Not one of the pictures in the book which could be of any value as evidence is satisfactory. There is no portrait of either of his faithful Eskimo friends which enables their features to be distinguished; they might very well be a pair of golliwogs from the pictures. The photographed facsimile (p. 312) of a copy of the document left at the Pole—who but Dr Cook would think of publishing the facsimile of a copy?—reads most distinctly in one place, 'I reached at noon

to-day 90 ft. a spot on the pole star 520 miles N. of Svartevoeg'; but the printed copy on p. 313—'an exact copy of the original note,' he tells us—runs, 'I reached at noon to-day 90° N. a spot on the polar sea 520 miles north of Svartevoeg.' How could he give 'pole star' in manuscript and 'polar sea' in print without commenting on the difference? It is of no importance except in showing the carelessness of the author or the editor. We must refer to one other photograph which seems to be of decisive value. It faces p. 256, in the middle of the narrative of the approach to the Pole, and is entitled, 'Camping to eat and take observations.' It shows two fur-clad figures, one erect (the upper part of the head cut off by the top of the picture), holding a sextant in a position which indicates a sun at an altitude of 45° at least, certainly impossible within a few degrees of the Pole. The shadow of this individual and that of the cooking-pot are thrown towards the background of the picture, at right angles to the direction of the sun if the sextant is pointed properly; but the shadow of the second figure, which is seated, is thrown forward into the foreground. Here, if the photograph were genuine, we have proof of the sun shining simultaneously in front, behind and on one side; and yet, even in the North Polar region, the sun can only be in one place at one time. The reader may draw his own conclusions.

About the 89th degree of latitude Dr Cook says:

'I observed here also an increasing extension of the range of vision. I seemed to scan longer distances, and the ice along the horizon had a less angular outline . . . the eagerness to find something unusual may have fired my imagination, but since the earth is flattened at the Pole, perhaps a widened horizon would naturally be detected there.'

Anyone who has travelled by sea knows that the horizon may be widened by many miles by going from a lower deck to a higher, and yet look the same to the eye. Polar flattening is imperceptible, but it was by exactly similar reasoning that 'Captain' Loose corrected his polar observations for dip of the horizon due to polar flattening!

Again and again in the work before us Dr Cook implies that his determination of the Pole was less accurate than it might have been on account of his not having correct

time. Time, of course, has nothing whatever to do with finding the latitude. The seven altitudes he published at six hours' intervals (which could be measured easily enough by any ordinary watch) show, what must be the case at the Pole in spring, that the sun was getting progressively higher in the sky as it wheeled round the horizon. This is indeed the only practicable test of being at the Pole—to find that the sun is increasing (or if in the autumn, decreasing) in altitude from hour to hour at the same rate as it is changing its declination as shown in the Nautical Almanac. Dr Cook professes to have measured the length of the shadow of a man or of a pole from hour to hour and to have found it to be of practically the same length at every hour of the twenty-four. This he seems to believe to be a more certain demonstration than sextant altitudes, which is absurd. The determination of latitude by means of shadows was not discovered by Dr Cook. It was the method in use in the earliest days; and Pytheas of Massilia had fixed the latitude of that place very accurately by means of the length of the noon shadow from a gnomon before he started for the first Arctic voyage in the course of which he made the Isles of Britain known to the ancient world somewhere about 300 B.C. The length of the shadow will vary enormously with the slope or irregularities of the ground, and, to be of any value, must be measured on a carefully levelled area. Moreover, far from being of invariable length at all hours at the Pole, it should show a distinct and steady increase in length easily detected in a day.

This, however, is not the point on which we lay stress. We venture to say that, if Dr Cook had, as he alleges, made such close and frequent measurements of shadows, he would never have remained silent about it, but would have insisted from the first on this simple and striking proof of his position to all objectors. We cannot overcome the feeling that the whole thing was an after-thought suggested by someone else, and we find it difficult to believe this statement on p. 307:

‘Although I had measured our shadows at times on the northward march, at the Pole these shadow notations were observed with the same care as the measured altitude of the sun by the sextant. A series was made on April 22, after E-tuk-i-shook and I had left Ah-we-lah in charge of our first

camp at the Pole. We made a little circle for our feet in the snow. E-tuk-i-shook stood in the foot circle. At midnight the first line was cut in the snow to the end of his shadow, and then I struck a deep hole with the ice-axe. Every hour a similar line was drawn out from his foot. *At the end of twenty-four hours, with the help of Ah-we-lah, a circle was circumscribed along the points, which marked the end of the shadow for each hour. The result is represented in the snow-diagram on the next page.* (The italics are ours.)

That diagram shows the shadow coming back to the same position after twelve hours, not twenty-four. The man was so supremely careless in preparing the book by which he desired to be judged that he actually allowed a blunder of this sort to pass. We can hardly believe that he could have allowed it to pass if the shadow game had ever been played. Had he really wished to measure shadows at every hour, surely he would have used the six-foot pole employed on other alleged occasions, and left poor E-tuk-i-shook to his usual sleep-time, though perhaps that noble savage insisted upon it, since to him, says Dr Cook, 'the thing had a spiritual interest.'

Our deliberate conclusion is that Dr Cook's mental equilibrium was disturbed at the time of this journey, and that he was not in a fit state to know where he was. It is impossible, except on the hypothesis of a rapid breaking-down of his faculties, to reconcile his clear scientific description of the Antarctic voyage of 1898 with the wordy rubbish to which he has put his name for the Arctic journey of 1908. The hyper-sensitiveness to colour suggests some special disturbance of the optical centres. The vagueness as to dates and times convinces us that there can have been no systematic diary. The voluntary separation from instruments and notes on the author's return was not the action of a sane explorer; and the failure to take any steps to recover them is inexplicable if they existed. The efforts in this book, published long after the events, to make out a plausible case, have failed, and so egregiously as to inspire a doubt whether they are actually the work of the man who figures as the explorer and author.

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Art. 10.—GARDEN CITIES, HOUSING AND TOWN-PLANNING.

1. *Garden Cities of To-morrow*. By Ebenezer Howard. Garden Cities and Town Planning Association, 1898.
2. *Garden Cities in Theory and Practice*. By A. R. Sennett. Two vols. London: Bemrose, 1905.
3. *Practical Housing*. By J. S. Nettlefold. Letchworth: Garden City Press, 1908.
4. *Town Planning in Practice*. By Raymond Unwin. London: Unwin, 1909.
5. *Co-partnership in Housing*. By E. B. London: Co-partnership Publishers, 1910.
6. *Transactions of the Town Planning Conference, London, 1910*. The Royal Institute of British Architects, 1911.
7. *Proceedings of the Third National Conference on City Planning, Philadelphia, 1911*.
8. *Garden Suburbs, Villages and Homes*. New edition. Co-partnership Publishers, Ltd, 1912.

FEW movements in this country have taken such a hold on public opinion in so short a time as that in favour of better Housing and Town-planning. It is not many years ago that we only had a few voices crying in the wilderness; and these were regarded by the so-called practical man as Utopians and dreamers. The ideal of the average man in regard to housing our working town population did not soar beyond the building of huge blocks of tenements, one of the most hideous devices for rearing human beings that ingenuity could suggest. Wealthy men who genuinely believed themselves to be public benefactors, and 'progressive' public bodies, spent huge sums in our great cities in the erection of these monstrosities. In less than twenty years, opinion on this as well as other aspects of the question has been quite transformed by the new movement. The imagination has been stimulated, and a science of town development is gradually taking the place of the happy-go-lucky methods of previous generations. The time has, in fact, come when, on this question, we have to insist that, in the interest of race-preservation, private gain must harmonise with the public good.

It is not the first time that the public interest has had

to assert itself to prevent private and sectional interest working to the destruction of the race in the matter of town life. It is only sixty years ago that in London, for example, the lives of men and women were being destroyed more rapidly than they would have been by the most calamitous war, largely owing to the private interests being permitted to override the public good in the matter of drainage and water-supply. In those days the Thames was both London's main sewer and the source of its chief water-supply, and this without filter-beds. There were at that time (1840) over 80,000 houses in London, with the population of 640,000 unsupplied with water. Well might Dr Southwood Smith, in giving evidence before the Select Committee in 1840, say:

'At present no more regard is paid, in the construction of houses, to the health of the inhabitants than is paid to the health of pigs in making styes for them. In fact, there is not so much attention paid to it. . . . The poorer classes in these neglected localities and dwellings are exposed to causes of disease and death which are peculiar to them; the operation of these peculiar causes is steadily increasing; and the result is the same as if 20,000 or 30,000 of these people were annually taken out of their wretched dwellings and put to death, the actual fact being that they are allowed to remain in them to die.' (Jephson, 'Sanitary Evolution of London,' pp. 6, 26.)

The Industrial Revolution, which harnessed steam and other forms of power to the service of man, transformed our population from being mainly rural to a mainly urban one, and introduced problems of organisation with which our forefathers proved unable to cope. The extraordinary character of this change is scarcely grasped by the average person to-day. We are surprised to learn, for example, that in 1700 Somerset, Herts, Wilts, Bucks, Rutland and Oxfordshire were six of the most densely populated counties of England, whilst Lancashire, Durham, and Staffordshire, which now rank high in our first half-dozen most populous counties, were not even mentioned in the first dozen. For some time we were able to replace the destruction of urban life by fresh supplies from the country. This, however, we can no longer expect to do. In 1861 the proportion of urban to rural population was 25 to 15; now it is 25 to 7. The demand for fresh blood from the country to replace the wastage of

life in towns exceeds the supply. Unless, therefore, we are able to secure that the towns themselves shall be life-producing, there is trouble ahead. The average modern city, whether in this country or in the newer countries of the United States and Canada, as regards its working population, is for the most part destructive of human life. Left to themselves, their population would dwindle. To suggest, as some do, that all this is economically sound, and that those who would make a bold effort to deal with the evil are mere sentimentalists working contrary to healthy economic forces, is indeed an extraordinary view. In the development of a town or city, it is surely as much our duty to see that the various agencies engaged in its production shall contribute as far as possible to its main purpose—the preservation and enlargement of human life—as it is to see that all those who take part in the making of a gun for a Dreadnought should contribute as far as possible to its powers of destruction. We need a science not merely of house-building or drainage or transit taken separately, but of town and estate development taken as a whole. It will not be an exact science; but, if we encourage more men of great ability to take up the problem, we shall, before many years are over, have laid down some general principles of immense value to future generations.

The movement in this country owes much to enlightened employers like Sir William Lever of Port Sunlight, Mr Cadbury of Bournville, and Mr Rowntree of Earswick. The industrial village of Port Sunlight was started in 1887 with 56 acres, 32 acres being allocated for the village and 24 acres for the works. At the present time the estate consists of 230 acres, 140 of which are occupied by the village, with its 800 houses and its various recreative and educational buildings, and 90 by the works. The firm has not aimed at making the village pay directly as a housing project, but it claims that the cost to the business, amounting to about 10,000*l.* a year for interest, is justified on the ground that healthily-housed employees are economically more efficient than those unhealthily housed. Indirectly, therefore, it may be said the firm gets a return. The Bournville Village, four miles from Birmingham, dates from 1895. In 1900 the property, valued at over 250,000*l.*, was vested by Mr Cadbury in the



Bournville Village Trust. The estate consists of 458 acres, upon 100 of which 450 houses have been built. The aim of the Trust is to earn a 4 per cent. return on the capital cost after meeting working expenses. The Earswick Village (near York), which is developing an area of 120 acres, was started in 1904 by Mr Joseph Rowntree, and fixes rents so as to pay from 3 to 3½ per cent.

The examples of Port Sunlight and Bournville roused interest and stimulated imagination on the question of industrial villages. Their influence was all the greater because the men responsible for their development were not mere sentimentalists, but hard-headed, successful men of business. With the birth of the new century, opinion ripened at a rapid rate. The statistics published in the Report of the Physical Degeneration Commission, showing the enormous proportion of 'unfits,' made clear the havoc wrought by the modern city on the physical, mental and moral capacities of our people. We began to learn that our greatest rival in industry, Germany, was already up and doing, its municipalities having received powers to regulate the growth of their cities. A stream of housing reformers visited Germany and brought back accounts of what was being done there. Stimulated and instructed by Mr Ebenezer Howard's book on 'Garden Cities of To-morrow,' the ever-increasing number of housing and town-planning enthusiasts formed themselves into an association under the chairmanship of Sir Ralph Neville and, with the support of such men as Sir William Lever, Mr Cadbury, and Mr Aneurin Williams, set themselves to develop a sample industrial town, which ultimately took shape in the Garden City of Letchworth. Six square miles (3800 acres) of land between Hitchin and Baldock were bought at an average of 40l. an acre, including farm buildings and a couple of small villages. This has been laid out by Mr Raymond Unwin for a population of 30,000. The town proper will take up 1200 acres; and 2600 acres are to be preserved as an agricultural and horticultural belt for small cultivators. At the present time 6500 people have settled in the city; 1331 houses and shops have been built; and there are 12 public buildings (churches, etc.) and 42 factories and workshops. The company has its own gas, water and electricity supply.

The difficulties in the way of a venture of this sort are, of course, great. If such a city is to be a creditable one, capital must be liberally spent in development, upon which a return cannot possibly be earned at once. To secure and retain the confidence of investors during this development period is no light task. Again, those responsible for the first of such cities have to make their own chart; and mistakes are inevitable. Every friend of the movement will rejoice in the fact that the most difficult period at Letchworth is now past, and that there is every reason to believe that success is assured.

The debt which the friends of better housing and good town-planning owe to Letchworth is very large. Not only has its success demonstrated the possibility of creating such new cities, but, what is still more important, it has brought about a great advance in the public thought and ideals on the question. It has compelled those responsible for town and city development, from one end of the country to the other, to think in terms of Garden Cities and Suburbs. The standard, both of demand and supply, has been raised; and, if some estate-developers still proceed on the old lines, they apologise and make excuses for it. Surely this is a great thing to have achieved. To be conscious you are doing wrong means a considerable step towards doing right. To take advantage of this quickened conscience and direct it into its most practical and useful channels with all speed possible is the work that lies immediately ahead of us. To start completely new cities is within the power of very few, but many of us can play some part in shaping the development of existing ones. Fortunately, in this direction, examples of what can be done are steadily increasing; and in a short time the 'practical' man will be convinced by practice.

The boldest venture in suburb development in this country is that initiated by the Hampstead Suburb Trust on 240 acres of land purchased from the Eton College Trustees in 1906, and being carried forward by the Co-partnership Tenants, Limited, on land leased from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. The total area of the joint estate will be 652 acres. The average number of dwellings will not exceed eight to the acre, providing for a total

population of about 20,000. Generous provision is being made for open spaces, playing-sites and gardens, while the existing trees are, so far as possible, preserved. Although building operations were only begun in June 1907, there is already a population of about 4000 on the estate; and no one who compares the scheme of development with that usually followed can fail to be impressed by the improvement. One thing is fairly certain, that a population accustomed to the surroundings which prevail on the Hampstead Estate would never again tolerate the monotonous rows of suburban houses which have done duty in the past. Suburbs are also being developed by the Co-partnership Tenants movement at Liverpool, Birmingham, Ealing and elsewhere. It should be mentioned that the excellent scheme of development for the Hampstead Estate which Mr Raymond Unwin prepared in consultation with Mr E. L. Lutyens, would have been impossible but for the good fortune of the Trust in securing a special Act (the Hampstead Garden Suburb Act, 1906) which exempted the company from certain wasteful, not to say stupid, bye-laws and regulations.

Fortunately the financial difficulties in developing a suburb, if the site is skilfully selected and the management is competent, are not so great as in the case of a completely new garden city. The pressure on the suburban land is already there; and the waiting period before the revenue will meet the interest charges on capital is much shorter. Already the revenue of the Hampstead Suburb Trust makes the payment of interest on shares certain, whilst in the case of the Co-partnership Tenants, Limited, the Hampstead Tenants, and the Ealing Tenants, interest on shares has been paid from the first. The success at Letchworth, Hampstead, Ealing and elsewhere is stimulating action in many directions; and before many years pass we shall have several more examples of how suburban estates should be developed. As a rule the ventures are in good hands and the prospects bright; but here and there 'wild-cat' ventures are being launched, the promoters merely taking advantage of the sympathetic opinion which the education of the last few years has awakened.

By the passing of the Housing and Town-planning Act of 1909 a long step forward was taken. The Town-

planning movement received through this Act the seal of national recognition and approval; and a new chapter was opened. It is obvious that, except in such cases as the Garden City at Letchworth, private individuals or voluntary corporate bodies can only handle the development of estates. Town-planning requires the co-operation of the public authority, which alone has powers extending over the whole area of the land coming within the boundary of a town. The Act makes the possibility of co-operation complete. The town can lay down the broad lines of development; it can encourage owners of urban land to harmonise the plan of development for their estates with the larger scheme for the town as a whole; and it can make concessions, in the matter of regulations and bye-laws, to builders who are prepared to carry on their enterprise by methods which secure the public welfare as well as private profit. It was not to be expected that rapid progress could be made in the application of the town-planning clauses of this Act in the first year or two. Where so many interests are concerned, experience as to the best methods of conciliating them must first be obtained. To quote the latest White Paper issued by the Local Government Board on the subject:

‘the Act, while creating a new relationship between owners and local authorities in connexion with the development of land, contemplates the co-operation of one with the other for the purpose of promoting the general interest. Co-operation and agreement are important features in connexion with the preparation of any town-planning scheme which is to be both successful and economical; and it follows that in many cases much time will be necessarily absorbed in negotiations preliminary to the stage at which formal application is made for the Board’s approval of the preparation of a scheme. Abundant evidence is forthcoming as to the widespread interest which is taken in the subject.

‘Section 54 (2) of the Act provides that the Board (1) may authorise a local authority to prepare a town-planning scheme with reference to any land within or in the neighbourhood of their area if the authority satisfy the Board that there is a *prima facie* case for making such a scheme; or (2) may authorise a local authority to adopt with or without any modifications any such scheme proposed by all or any of the

owners of any land with respect to which the local authority might themselves have been authorised to prepare a scheme.

If the vital importance of getting experience before adopting schemes on a large scale be borne in mind, it cannot be said that those responsible have been idle. The Board has already given authority for the preparation of schemes in the following cases, viz. the Corporations of Birmingham, Rochdale, Chesterfield and Bournemouth, and the Urban District Councils of North Bromsgrove, Ruislip-Northwood and Oldbury. The Hanwell Urban District Council and the Liverpool Corporation have also asked for authority to prepare schemes under the Act. Preliminary notices, as provided in the regulations in connexion with the preparation of schemes, have been given by eleven other public authorities, including Huddersfield, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Sheffield. No less than twenty-two public authorities have practically arrived at the decision to proceed under the Act, although the formal steps have not been taken; while twenty-eight other authorities have the preparation of schemes under consideration. The Maldon and Combe Council has scheduled the whole of its unbuilt-on area; and Surbiton is contemplating the same course. Finally, conferences are taking place between a number of authorities on the outskirts of London with a view to co-operation under the powers conferred by the Act.

Those who have not come into direct contact with the task of carrying out housing schemes, or developing estates on rational lines, have no conception of the difficulties to be overcome. Nothing less than a revolution is needed in the attitude of mind of the average public official towards the problem. There are, of course, splendid and encouraging exceptions to this, some officials being far in advance of the opinion either of the governing body or the town itself. Again, the number of men in the professions of architecture and surveying who are equal to a bold handling of the problem are extremely few, although the number is rapidly increasing in response to the growing demand. Further, those engaged in the business of dealing with urban estates, whether as ground-landlords or builders, have much to learn. Retail land-buying, planning, designing and building have to give way to wholesale buying, planning;

designing and building. The agents of urban land-owners, who have been in the habit of handling their land in 'penny numbers,' with all the waste of retail legal expenses and commissions, not to speak of extravagant prices per acre, must be prepared for bigger deals on wholesale terms. There will be more profit out of it for everyone, not per house or per acre, but on the whole. Many owners of urban land are losing large incomes to-day through the anti-economic policy of their representatives. Hindrances to development are to be found not only in the prices asked, but also in restrictions and regulations which seldom promote the owners' interests, but tend to hold up negotiation and prevent development. Owners of urban land are slowly waking up to these facts, and may be expected, in the future, to give more encouragement to far-sighted schemes of estate development than they have done in the past.

On the question of bye-laws and regulations governing new streets and roads, it is to be wished that Mr Burns may see his way to appoint a strong Departmental Committee to take evidence on this question, and submit suggestions for reform. The rules enforced by Local Authorities with regard to new streets and buildings are of two kinds, viz. bye-laws and statutory provisions. Statutory provisions may be contained either in General Acts, such, for example, as the rule relating to the size of flues, or in Private Acts. By far the greater number are contained in Private Acts, each of which deals with a particular city or urban area. In many towns provisions relating to new streets and buildings are contained in Acts of Parliament dealing also with tramways, water-supply, gas and electric-light works, and other local affairs. In many cases some of the statutory provisions still in force were framed more than fifty years ago. A large part of the Liverpool Building Act of 1842 is still in force; and other provisions are to be found in other Liverpool Acts of 1854, 1864, 1867, 1871, 1882, 1889, 1890, 1893, 1902 and 1908. In Liverpool, as in some other towns, statutory provisions and bye-laws coexist.

Private legislation of this kind invariably results in confusion, and renders it a matter of considerable difficulty to ascertain what are the exact rules in force with regard to any particular detail of estate development

and building construction. In addition to this, there is the disadvantage that obsolete or obsolescent provisions are often retained for many years, because the Local Authority does not wish to incur the cost of obtaining new powers. A statutory provision cannot be repealed or modified, except by another Act of Parliament or by a Provisional Order followed by an Act of Parliament. It is not possible for a Local Authority to amend a statutory provision by means of a bye-law. The Local Government Board will not grant to a Local Authority a bye-law dealing with any matter which forms the subject of a statutory provision in force in that Authority's area, however indefinite or out-of-date the statutory provision may be. In spite of these disadvantages, some Local Authorities, particularly those in large towns, prefer to deal with estate development and building construction by means of statutory provisions rather than bye-laws, because, as a rule, Parliament will allow in an Act greater latitude to the Local Authority than can be allowed by the Local Government Board in a bye-law. Many provisions in Private Acts contain clauses permitting the Local Authority to enforce the provisions if they think it desirable so to do, either with or without modifications. A bye-law, on the other hand, is definite. It may be said that in many cases Private Acts provide that the Local Authority *may* exercise certain powers, while a bye-law says that they *shall* comply with its requirements. One great advantage of a bye-law is that it requires the approval of the Local Government Board only, and can be altered at little cost and with very little delay with the consent of the Board. It is indeed possible to obtain the Local Government Board's consent to special bye-laws being made applicable to a particular area within the district of the Local Authority.

It is not an easy matter to put an end to the existing confusion. The regulations relating to estate development and building construction in some towns are hopelessly out-of-date, and are quite unsuited to town-planning and to garden-suburb development. For example, the Local Authority, as a rule, has no power to insist on any road being made wider than the minimum width prescribed by the regulations. What is required, writes Mr G. Lister Sutcliffe, architect to Co-partnership Tenants, is



greater elasticity; and this can be obtained in various ways. In the first place, it would be a benefit to the community if a short Act of Parliament could be passed, by which all statutory provisions relating to new streets and buildings would, after a certain date, be converted into bye-laws. The Act might also provide that within (say) two years after such conversion all the bye-laws of each Local Authority should be codified, amended as desired by the Local Authority, and submitted to the Local Government Board for alteration or approval. It would also be useful if bye-laws were granted for a term of years only, and not for an indefinite period. If this were done, bye-laws could be kept abreast of modern thought, and might be made to encourage the development of estates on the best garden-suburb lines, instead of being, as they often are to-day, a hindrance to progress, and a drag on the efforts of the most enlightened land-owners. Powers ought also to be freely given for modified bye-laws, relating to the width and construction of streets and the grouping and construction of buildings, applicable to building areas comprising not fewer than a specified number of acres, where the owner is willing to give the land for making through-roads or main-traffic routes of more than the minimum bye-law width, and to restrict the number of houses per acre, and to set apart a specified proportion of the area for open spaces.

The necessity for altering the existing bye-laws is also pointed out by Mr J. T. Alexander, the City Building Surveyor of Liverpool in his Annual Report for the year 1910 (p. 4). Writing of the work done on the estate of the Liverpool Garden Suburb Tenants, Limited, he says :

'The erection of these "Garden City" houses in a manner which makes it possible to lay out only a very limited number of houses to the acre has accentuated the fact that the existing bye-laws may operate somewhat needlessly in respect of such houses. It is probable, therefore, that the Corporation will during this year obtain powers to modify or relax in some respects the bye-laws, the purposes of which are fully achieved in a garden city without the actual requirements being observed in every literal particular.'

There should be a simple court of appeal on the matter of bye-laws at the Local Government Board. I pressed

for this when the Housing and Town-planning Bill was going through the House, but could not get it. In many cases what can only be obtained through the necessarily cumbersome process of adopting the town-planning sections of the Act could be obtained at a mere fraction of the time and money if such a court of appeal existed. Bye-laws and regulations which are perfectly justifiable under one scheme and method of estate development become wasteful and stupid under another. It is not, therefore, enough to have a good model code of bye-laws; we must have elasticity, and the power to modify must be vested in some authority away from the local interests concerned. It is not in human nature that a local builder, a local land-speculator, or a local solicitor, who is a member of the Local Authority and interested in a competing building estate, should look with a friendly eye on any suggestion for modifying bye-laws or regulations at the request of a new competitor, notwithstanding the fact that the new competitor makes concessions which secure far more for the public than the bye-laws or regulations in dispute could possibly give. Such a matter must, if we are to have justice, be adjudicated on by a tribunal which represents the public interests, and the public interests alone.

It is not only in such matters as these that private interests in a public body interfere with healthy development; the same thing occurs in the relations of one public body to another. How often, in the matter of new drainage or new thoroughfare schemes, have members of one public body—against the public interests and at enormous cost to the ratepayers—prevented co-operation with another public body! The new Act depends for its success on the co-operation of adjacent public authorities. In Greater London, during the past thirty years, there have been built 550,000 houses. What a city we might have had if imagination, forethought and co-operation had prevailed, instead of the hand-to-mouth unenlightened selfishness of which we are now the victims! It is not an over-estimate to say that we shall build at least as large a number of houses during the next thirty years round London. Will our local and central authorities, landlords and builders rise to the occasion and give us a Greater London of which we can

be justly proud? We have heard much about thinking imperially. Give the people a truly imperial city to live in, and there is nothing more certain than that their thinking will tend to correspond. Give them a continuation of the shabby, featureless, undignified suburbs with which we are only too familiar, and their thinking will be of the same order.

The organisation of London and the urban areas around it is on this matter as unscientific as it could well be. Large sums of money, it is true, have been spent in preparing schemes for main roads, but there is no adequate authority to see them carried out. We have scores of authorities with conflicting aims and interests, each unconsciously—indeed, in some cases, it is suggested, consciously—frustrating whatever efforts at improvement the other is making. Take almost any main artery leading out of London. Look at the jumble of property which is being run up on each side of it. In twenty years from now these roads will be in many parts too narrow by from twenty-five to fifty feet for the traffic they will have to bear. For the most part they will be shabby and undignified. Widenings will cost more per hundred yards than they would have cost per mile ten years ago. The part which should have been dealt with, and ought at once to be dealt with, runs through districts which are being administered by perhaps half a dozen different urban public bodies. These have no plan to work to, and there is no central authority to impose any plan on them. Thus the efficiency, the comfort and the health of a city which in a few years will have a population of ten millions is being sacrificed. Give home rule to localities by all means, but let it be on matters which do not frustrate the good of the whole. For certain large questions which affect Greater London as a whole, including the planning of main and secondary roads, the securing of open spaces, and the general disposition of the area over which the population of London will spread in the next fifty years, there should be a central responsible body; and whatever the local authorities do should conform to its general scheme.

What applies to London applies also, in a greater or less degree, to several of the other great urban areas in the country. In the matter of roads, good planning does

not involve more land or more cost than the indifferent planning of to-day. On building estates round London macadamised roads from forty to forty-five feet wide are often insisted on, where a width of from fifteen to twenty-five feet would be ample if there were a reasonable limitation of the number of houses to the acre. On the other hand, the traffic on the main roads leading to such estates is throttled by their being far too narrow. The width of, and expenditure on, the roads must be adjusted in a more intelligent way to the needs of the situation. Germany has made up its mind to act in this matter; and it behoves us not to fall behind her. There is much in Germany's housing policy which we should do well not to imitate; but in her clear recognition of the problem of planning and the execution of a consistent and definite policy for dealing with it we may well imitate her. In our attitude of mind on this question we stand midway between the stringent regulations of Germany and the unfettered licence of the United States.

In Germany the city authority is supreme. It controls the land-owner, the land speculator, and the builder in the interests of the community to an extent we have never known here. The land, even if privately owned, when it comes within the possible building area of the town in the matter of plan development, ceases to be private. It is part of the foundation of the town, and as such is subject to the most stringent public regulation and control. In the inner city of Frankfort, for example, buildings may cover from one-half to five-sixths of a lot and have a maximum height of sixty-five feet and six inches. Usually they are limited in height to the width of the street upon which they front. In the inner and outer zones of the residential section, not only is the space between the buildings regulated, but also the height of the buildings and the number of storeys. In Cologne the area which may be occupied by buildings ranges from 25 to 60 per cent., depending upon the location of the lots, the maximum being allowed in the business districts. These building regulations preclude the reappearance of tenement conditions and ensure harmonious development with a uniform sky-line in each zone of the city.

Within certain limits, German municipalities control

the nature of suburban development. Factories which in any way offend the neighbourhood in which they are located may be required to move to the suburbs, on the general theory that a man must so use his property as not to interfere with a like use on the part of his neighbour. Municipal bye-laws also control the factory and industrial areas. German cities anticipate their future needs in a far-sighted, intelligent way. Before a new territory is opened up for residence, the city authorities acquire land for playgrounds and gardens, and sites for schoolhouses and other public buildings. The purchase of these lands, far in advance of the city's growth, saves it from prohibitive prices and the necessity of cramping the sites of public buildings. It also makes possible the most generous provision for recreation and open spaces; and in the new suburbs of German cities, playgrounds and gardens of great variety are found within easy walking distance of almost every home.

Referring to the conditions and particulars supplied by the Corporation of Düsseldorf to the competitors in connexion with the town-planning prizes offered by that city, the 'Builder' for Sept. 29, 1911, says:

'Characterised by the scientific method and by that painstaking thoroughness for which the Germans are so distinguished, these conditions amount to a most interesting and valuable essay on the whole art and science of town-planning, as at present understood in Germany, emphasising the principal points to be observed in the lay-out and general conception of a modern industrial and residential city. The amount of information supplied to the competitors gives us some idea of the present advanced state of the art in Germany, and enables us to realise the enormous amount of statistical information which must be collected, analysed and properly related to the general subject by those who have the opportunity and the type of mind capable of dealing with facts and figures, before the actual planner—the man with the creative type of mind—can attain a grasp of the essential points of the problem and be in a position to tackle it with any hope of success. We doubt whether the officials of any English town are yet in a position to supply such exhaustive information and draw up such conditions.'

In the United States, opinion on the question is ripening rapidly, and town-planning schemes on a very

costly scale are being carried out in many of the great cities with a view to reducing the mischief wrought by past neglect. The Mayor of Philadelphia, in welcoming the delegates to the third and most important National City-planning Conference in May 1911, said:

'Two years ago we had a conference here of citizens of all classes and conditions. At this conference sub-committees were appointed; and for two years they have worked in order to lay before our people plans for the development of our city, some of which you have seen around the walls of this municipal building. We believe these plans will be followed out—not in this year, but for many years; and that a wonderful work will be accomplished for our city, and by the same ideas other communities will be benefited. I believe that, instead of being a burden, these plans for development can be accomplished without increased taxes, and that the city will be benefited not only in a financial sense, but by developing in the people the idea that the city exists not for a class but for all classes.'\*

At this conference it was resolved

'That the advancement of scientific city-planning in the United States is a matter of national importance depending upon fundamental principles, which are the same throughout the country; . . . our understanding of the basic principles and of the methods by which they can be made practically effective is greatly confused by the perplexing diversities of constitutional and legal conditions in different localities.

'That in the opinion of this conference it is desirable that the National Government and the several State Governments undertake an enquiry into the problems of city-planning from the national point of view, unprejudiced by the peculiarities of any State Constitution; and

'That the executive committee be directed to confer with the officers of the Federal Government and of the several States as to the practicability of such governmental inquiry.'†

In Canada the leading citizens are waking up to the necessity for prompt action. During my three months' tour in the Dominion last year, every public man I met admitted the gravity of the question. Canada has

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\* Report of the Proceedings of the Third National Conference on City Planning, at Philadelphia, May 15-17, 1911 (University Press, Cambridge, U.S.A.), pp. 1, 2.

† *Ib.* pp. 263, 264.

opportunities in this matter which few other countries have. The sites on which many of the young cities are growing up are splendidly situated; the enormous natural resources which attract the population make continuous increase and prosperity practically certain. Unless, however, action on the part of the Governments and the authorities concerned is prompt, the most deplorable results in the shape of slums and wastage of human life will follow. Without proper regulation, control and forethought, the very rapidity of growth will work the destruction of all that is best in city life. Land speculators and others may make quick fortunes, but the dwellers in the city will decay. Take the city of Montreal, for example. It is as certain as anything can be that its increase of population will for some years be from 40,000 to 50,000 a year; in other words it will, in ten years, have added another half-million, or doubled its population. Unless scientific town-planning and strong action generally in the matter of housing is adopted, one of the finest sites in the world for a great and noble city will be converted into a vast network of slums or mean and shabby streets, dependent for the energy to continue its existence as a city, not on its own life-giving qualities, but upon the continual supply of fresh immigrants from other parts of the world. And what is true of Montreal is to a greater or less degree true of many of the other cities and towns of Canada. This question is one of the most urgent which Canada has to deal with; and, if she handles it boldly and in a public-spirited way, there is no doubt that the results will give her full reason for additional pride.

Lord Rosebery recently referred to the existence of a large number of empty houses, implying that the subject was deserving of serious consideration. It is. An enquiry, however, would probably show that many of these houses are, for various reasons, quite unsuitable to present needs. The truth is that the individual ownership of houses, more particularly by comparatively poor people, valuable as it is in many ways, leaves something to be desired on important points. Few individual owners of houses proceed on the business-like assumption that house property has a tendency to decay or get out of date. Consequently, no sinking fund is



created out of the revenue to repair wastage, or replace the building after a lapse of time. On the assumption that the gross revenue is the net revenue, the property is passed from one generation to another; and it comes as a shock to the owner one day that, through the steady and inevitable decay which has been going on, or because the accommodation is quite behind the needs of the time, the houses will not let, and that a large capital expenditure is required to put things right. A sinking-fund to meet contingencies of this sort should be regarded as a charge on the revenue quite as legitimate as, say, fire insurance; and house property, not charged with this risk, is not administered on sound business principles. If a small sum had been placed on one side yearly, there would be funds available to bring most of the houses now empty into a condition which would bring tenants at once. The fact is that a very large proportion of the present owners of unlet houses have no funds to fall back upon to carry out any improvements.

Another difficulty involved in the individual ownership of houses is the absence of control over the character of the neighbourhood. Thrifty investors often sink the whole of their savings in one house, the value of which may decline by 25 per cent., owing not to any change for the worse in the particular house, but to the fact that the residents of adjacent houses have entirely changed in character. Houses once let to self-respecting tenants have become overcrowded lodging-houses, and well-kept gardens have been converted into receptacles for rubbish of all sorts. Whole areas in the London suburbs have, within the past thirty years, been built upon and depreciated in this way. Once give a neighbourhood a start in this direction, and it will soon run down. It is difficult to suggest a general remedy for this evil; but it almost seems that nothing short of some form of corporate control or ownership over a neighbourhood will check such deterioration.

On the other hand, there is much that is attractive in the principle of a man having a sense of possession of the house in which he lives, and an interest in the economical administration of the property. On the Co-partnership Tenants estates, an effort is made to meet the situation by combining corporate control with a personal interest

in the profits arising from a right and an economical use of the property. The methods adopted by a Co-partnership Tenants Society are briefly these: (1) to purchase in the suburb of a growing town an estate and to plan or lay out the same, so as to provide suitable playing-sites for the tenants and their children; to insist on reasonable limitation of the number of houses to the acre, so that each house may have a private garden, and on pleasing architectural effects in the grouping and designing of the houses; (2) to erect substantial houses, provided with good sanitary and other arrangements for the convenience of stock-holders desiring to become tenants; (3) to let these at ordinary rents, so as to pay a moderate rate of interest on capital (usually 5 per cent. on shares, and 4 or  $4\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. on loan stock), dividing the surplus profits, after providing for expenses, repairs and sinking fund, among the tenant stock-holders, in proportion to the rents paid by them. Each tenant stock-holder's share of profits is credited to him in capital instead of being paid in cash, until he holds the value of the house tenanted by him, after which all dividends may be withdrawn in cash.

In such societies it will be seen that an individual can obtain practically all the economic advantages which would arise from the ownership of his own house. Capital is obtained at a rate of interest below which the individual could not usually borrow to build or buy his own house, while the preliminary and other expenses are less than under the individualist system. By taking as his security scrip for stock in an association of tenant stock-holders, instead of a deed of a particular site and house, the tenant averages the risk of removal with his co-partners in the tenancy of the estate. The value of his accumulated savings is therefore kept up, and can be transferred, if desired, at less cost than land or house property to the same value. The results of an individual's thrift are in this way made mobile as well as his labour or ability.

The first Housing Society to adopt the system of sharing the profits with its tenants, after a fixed interest on capital had been paid, was the Tenant Co-operators, Limited, which was registered in 1888. Thirteen years later, in 1901, there came into existence another society

in the western outskirts of London, the Ealing Tenants, Limited. By concentrating its operations on one estate, the Ealing Society was able to include many features, such as a model estate plan, an institute, recreation and playing sites, which are impossible if the property is scattered in different districts. It thus established for itself the claim of being 'The Pioneer Co-partnership Village'; and under the title of 'Co-partnership in Housing' the movement has made rapid strides in the last nine years. There are now fourteen societies, holding property at the end of 1911 to the value of about 1,005,000*l.*, and engaged in developing further property to the value of about 1,207,500*l.*

Mr Unwin, the Consulting Architect to the Co-partnership Tenants Society, has well said that the Co-partnership Tenants movement marks a new era in housing; for not only is the individual likely to procure for himself a better house and a larger garden by obtaining them through a Co-partnership Society than by any other means, but the introduction of co-operation opens up quite a new range of possibilities. Through the medium of co-operation all may enjoy a share of many advantages, the individual possession of which can only be attained by the few. The man who is sufficiently wealthy may have his own shrubberies, tennis-courts, bowling-green, or play-places for his children, and may, by the size of his grounds, secure an open and pleasant outlook from all his windows; but the individual possession of such grounds is quite out of reach of the majority. A Co-partnership Association can, however, provide for all its members a share of these advantages, and of far more than these. In fact, the scope of the principle is limited only by the power of those who associate to accept and enjoy the sharing of great things in place of the exclusive possession of small things.

In exceptional cases some enlightened owner or company may so lay out an estate as to provide for the common enjoyment of some of the advantages of the site; but usually, everything is sacrificed which will not produce a revenue, and which cannot be divided up into the individual self-contained plots, marked by the maximum degree of detachment, which are so desired by those who know only of individual possession and have

not learned the joys of sharing. Where a site is being developed on co-partnership lines the whole position is changed. Instead of a chance assortment of individuals there is now a whole to be thought of and planned for. A home is to be made for a community with something like an organised common life. A centre is needed for this life; institutes, clubs, schools, or places of worship may form such a centre, towards which the design can be made to lead. The site can be thought of and planned as a whole; and the certainty of some degree of co-operation will enable spots of natural beauty and distant views of hill and dale to be preserved for common enjoyment. Play-places and shelters for the children, greens for tennis, bowls or croquet can be arranged, with the houses grouped around them that, while they provide the occupants with recreation ground, they also afford both more pleasant prospects from the windows and more attractive views for the streets. In this way, instead of the buildings being mere endless rows, or the repetition of isolated houses having no connexion one with the other, they will naturally gather themselves into groups; while the groups again, clustered around the greens, will form larger units, and the interest and beauty of grouping will at once arise. The principle of sharing, therefore, not only causes each individual house to become more attractive, but gives to the whole area covered that coherence which, springing from the common life of the community, expresses itself in the harmony and beauty of the whole. This harmony of outward expression must in turn react on the life that flourishes under its influence, at once stimulating the growth of co-operation and giving wider opportunities for its practice.

It is clear that good town and city planning is greatly facilitated where building estates are being developed by Public Utility Societies or companies, such as those connected with the co-partnership movement. A public authority genuinely anxious to plan its area on enlightened principles is in a position, under the Housing and Town-planning Act, to make concessions of considerable value to estate developers, not only without detriment to the public interest, but actually so as to promote it; on the other hand, it can secure, in return for these concessions, valuable help from the estate-owners in

the carrying-out of the larger scheme of town-planning which the Public Authority has on hand. Such mutual exchange of facilities is obviously more possible when there exists a Public Utility Society engaged in developing, on enlightened methods, a large area of urban land. That Germany has found such Public Utility Societies valuable in town-planning work may be judged from the fact that the public authorities not only co-operate with such companies, but actually promote their formation and give them financial aid.

Urban land-owners who wish their estates developed so as to avoid the creation of slums find it difficult unless it is done through a Public Utility Society or something like it. The Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who have on some of the urban land they control practised a public-spirited housing policy, point out in one of their pamphlets\* that :

'It is not safe merely to hand over the land for such purposes by way of leases to private individuals whose interest as lessees is mainly to secure a profitable return for their outlay in building. The erection of suitable houses can doubtless be assured in this way by the control which the lessors are able, before leases are granted, to exercise over their lessees as to the design and construction of the buildings to be placed on the land; and their continued maintenance as dwelling-houses can be safeguarded by covenant. But, upon the grant of the leases, the future management of the houses necessarily passes into the hands of the lessees; and the Commissioners or other lessors cannot effectively guard against sub-letting, which leads to the evil of the "middle-man" and the raising of rents, inevitably followed by sub-division of tenements and overcrowding.'

It is clear from a study of the question that the present methods of town-development meet the needs of a growing community in a very uneven and wasteful way. Supply follows or anticipates demand in patches. A public-house or perhaps a grocer's shop is required in a new neighbourhood; and they appear fairly promptly. The demand for residences is also quickly met in a rough and ready way. The stimulus to these activities is, of

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\* 'Metropolitan Estates: provision of dwellings for the Working Classes' (No. 36, 1904). H.M. Stationery Office.

course, the practical certainty of a direct and quick return on the capital involved in the speculation. The same economic conditions, however, do not apply in the case of other things which are essential to the healthy growth of urban communities. There can be no direct and prompt return to a capital expended in a new neighbourhood on securing in advance such conveniences as playing-sites, sites for schools and other public buildings, or land for widening the principal thoroughfares; yet, unless there is some authority anticipating the needs of the community in these respects, not only does the speculative estate-developer neglect them, but he actually becomes an obstacle to their supply in the future. He builds on the margins which should at once be taken for main-road widenings. He cuts down the trees which a bountiful Nature has taken years to grow on land which is obviously the very site to secure for a public park. In making his little patches of road he naturally regards his present profit rather than the welfare of the community in years to come. Nevertheless, in selling or leasing his land for building lots, the estate-developer asks an enhanced price because it includes the prospective value which the open spaces, the educational facilities, the cheap transit and the good drainage offer; and he takes for granted that the heavily-rated residents will one day go to the enormous expense of providing these in the district. A pressing need to-day undoubtedly is to secure the regulation of present enterprise in estate-development so that it may not hamper or even render financially impossible those future improvements upon which the health and efficiency of a town depend.

Whether Public Utility or Co-partnership Tenants Societies will come into being rapidly enough to supply any large proportion of the demand for estate-development, experience alone can determine; but it is clear that they are able to give guarantees in many desirable directions which it is difficult to get in any other way.

HENRY VIVIAN.

# Art. 11.—THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

1. *The Face of the Earth (Das Antlitz der Erde)*. By Eduard Suess. Translated by Hertha B. C. Sollas under the direction of W. J. Sollas. Four vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1904-9.
2. *The Founders of Geology*. By Sir Archibald Geikie, F.R.S. Second edition, re-written and much enlarged. London: Macmillan, 1905.
3. *The Coming of Evolution* (Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature). By John W. Judd. Cambridge: University Press, 1910.
4. *The Student's Lyell*. Edited by John W. Judd, with historical introduction. London: Murray, 1911.

GEOLOGY is a science comparatively modern, though, even before the Christian era, philosophers sometimes sought to explain terrestrial phenomena. For ages after the fall of the Roman Empire inductive reasoning was in disfavour, and ecclesiastical censure repressed the study of the earth; but with the stirring of the Renaissance the demands of reason became more insistent, the fear of the Church less oppressive. Here one, there another, began to investigate; and towards the end of the eighteenth century the number of students became considerable.\* Foremost among the geologists of his day was James Hutton, a Scotsman, who, after a varied experience in England and abroad, returned to Edinburgh, his native city, and devoted himself to the study of geology. His great work on the 'Theory of the Earth' was still incomplete when he died in 1797, and might have attracted little attention, owing to certain defects in style, had not his intimate friend, John Playfair, acted as an interpreter, and published (1802) his 'Illustrations of the Huttonian Theory of the Earth.'

Catastrophism—an earth convulsed by internal spasms, shattered by omnipresent earthquakes, swept bare of life by universal deluges—was the dominant note in the teaching of earlier geologists. Hutton's philosophy found in the present the key to the past. He went into the field with no preconceived theories about the origin of rocks

\* The story of the pioneers is told by Sir A. Geikie with his wonted charm of style in 'The Founders of Geology.'



or the genesis of the world, but observed facts and reasoned on them inductively, and thus, with Playfair's help, laid the foundation of the Uniformitarian School of Geology. But Catastrophism fought hard, and found an able defender in Werner, a Saxon professor, Hutton's junior by about a quarter of a century, whose lucidity, zeal and personal charm gathered round him a school of ardent disciples. One of these, Prof. Robert Jameson, continued till about the middle of the nineteenth century to advocate his master's views even in Edinburgh itself; but, in spite of his resolute opposition, uniformitarian views gradually won their way. Their success, so far as England was concerned, was greatly aided by the foundation, in 1807, of the Geological Society of London, the aim of which, as expressed in a quotation from the '*Novum Organum*' printed on the title-page of their Proceedings, is '*non belle et probabiliter opinari, sed certo et ostensive scire.*'

Shortly before this, William Smith, the 'father of English geology,' had established the succession of our strata from the coal measures upwards. Younger men soon carried on the work; and by 1835 De la Beche, Murchison and Sedgwick had set in order the great underlying mass—the 'Transitional' of Werner—while Daubeny, Lyell and Scrope, by extending the area of their studies, demonstrated the efficacy of rain and rivers, and the character of volcanic products. Of these Lyell especially brought his wide experience, his philosophic mind and his literary skill to the establishment of Hutton's doctrines, and has thus been justly called the great high priest of Uniformitarianism. His '*Principles of Geology*,' the first volume of which appeared in 1831, and the third in 1834, rang the knell of catastrophic geology, at any rate in English-speaking countries.\*

But, while the principle of Uniformity was becoming dominant in geology, another principle, that of Evolution, was silently maturing in the mind of Charles Darwin, who published his epoch-making work on '*The Origin of Species*' in 1859.† Coldly received at first by the

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\* Prof. Judd has contributed an interesting historical preface to the latter portion of the '*Principles*,' now republished as '*The Student's Lyell*.'

† The story of this book is admirably told in a little volume by Prof. Judd, entitled '*The Coming of Evolution*,' which deserves to be commended.

majority of those competent to judge, and hotly denounced by almost all who were not, the principle of Evolution has been gradually extended from organic to inorganic nature, from the earth and the solar system to the stars and the universe. Evolution is rather a modification than a contradiction of Uniformity, for it accepts most of the leading ideas of the latter, and is equally hostile to Catastrophism; but it maintains that the operations of Nature are analogous to those of a living body rather than of an inanimate machine; that the degradation of energy is not less a fact than its conservation; and that the geologist can recognise traces of the earth's youth, though he may only be able to conjecture what it may become in extreme old age.

The later half of the nineteenth century will always be noted in the history of science, not only for the conversion of Evolution from an hypothesis to a theory, but also for the vast increase in our knowledge of the facts on which geology depends. At its beginning large areas of the globe, in North and South America, in Australia, in Central Asia and Africa, either were completely unknown or had only been visited by travellers without scientific knowledge; while even in Europe the investigations made were unsystematic and isolated. But year by year geologists became more numerous; government surveys were made; palæontology advanced rapidly; while, with the application of the microscope to the study of rocks, for which we are indebted to Henry Clifton Sorby, petrology became one of the most exact branches of the science.

Before about 1825 the facts were too few and restricted in range to admit of generalisation; fifty years later they not only were numerous in Europe, but also were rapidly coming in from all the great regions of the earth's surface. Thus a work like '*Das Antlitz der Erde*' became possible. Its author, Edward Suess, sometime Professor of Geology in the University of Vienna, and now an illustrious veteran of the scientific army, published the first volume in 1885 and the second in 1888, while the third was not completed till 1904. It was then translated into French, with some modifications, and has now been made accessible to English readers. The fourth volume of the translation practically completes the work, though

a supplementary volume containing the index and some plates is still in the press. That will make the book much more useful, for at present the student has no other guide through its rather tortuous course than a too brief summary of its contents, which is in this case the less helpful because, in a work which has been nearly thirty years in publication, recurrences, alterations and additions to earlier material have become inevitable.

No armchair geologist could have written such a work as 'Das Antlitz'; and Prof. Suess, before undertaking it, worked as a field geologist and widened his experiences by travel. Beginning, in 1849, by investigating the early Palæozoic strata and their foundation of Archæan crystalline rocks in Bohemia, he turned next year to the Alps, where he was introduced to some of their problems by the distinguished Swiss geologists, Bernhard Studer and Escher von der Linth. He subsequently travelled in other parts of Europe. Meanwhile, in more than one quarter, efforts were being made to systematise the facts already ascertained and to interpret their significance. One of our greatest English geologists, Sir Henry de la Beche, had already, as Prof. Suess remarks, struck the right note when, in speaking of South Wales, he declared that the foldings of its mountains imply adaptation to a complicated lateral pressure. That is now generally agreed. When a fairly thick crust had formed on the surface of a globe, once molten, this, as cooling progressed, was bound to pucker like the skin of an apple which has been kept through the winter. But though the wrinkles on the earth's face are the signs of its age, they are less easily explained than in the case of the fruit; for a mountain system is often the result of more than a single disturbance and of movements affecting a far wider area.

Their nature Prof. Suess expounds in the earlier part of his great work. After a discussion, perhaps needlessly prolonged, of the effects of floods, he passes on to earthquakes, which indicate disturbances in the outer crust. These are often quite independent of volcanic explosions, but they are frequent in mountain districts, where the folded rocks are almost certain to be in a state of strain; and, even when occurring in a lowland, can often be reason-

ably attributed to movements in ancient rocks concealed beneath a superficial covering of more modern deposits. The earth's crust also is not so uniform as the skin of an apple. It is far from certain that, at the beginning, it would be homogeneous or would solidify simultaneously; for the molten surface would more probably begin to freeze at the poles. Thus the crust would be unequal in hardness and in power of resistance to the strain of contraction. Besides this, we cannot even be sure that the globe originally took the form of a spheroid of rotation. If it did not, and if it began to cool 'in an asymmetrical condition,' the stresses set up would soon become very great.

Prof. Sollas, in his essay on 'The Figure of the Earth,' has lucidly stated the results which might be expected to follow both in a pear-shaped figure, suggested (in 1903) by Mr J. H. Jeans, and in a tetrahedral one, as proposed by Mr Lowthian Green so long ago as 1873. The subject is too intricate for discussion here, but it is remarkable that the position of the mainland masses and ocean basins, as Prof. Suess has pointed out, is explicable by the contraction of a mass which was from the first rather asymmetrical in form; and of these basins the Atlantic and Indian oceans seem to indicate areas of depression much more ancient than that of the Pacific. In any case, when once a tolerably thick crust has formed, further cooling of the interior, with a consequent decrease in its volume, must produce strains in that crust, which must either accommodate itself to the inner mass, and thus become puckered, or be detached from it and overarch an internal cavity. In the latter case gravitation will sooner or later cause a collapse of the crust; and the broken portions will sink downwards until they are again supported by the interior. In other words, as Prof. Suess expresses it, the tensions resulting from the loss of volume in our planet are resolved into tangential and radial components; the one producing more or less horizontal, the other more or less vertical, displacements of its crust.

Since the close packing of material, brought about by the thrusting, adds to the solidity of the portion of crust thus affected, we might expect to find the collapses not infrequently the later in time. That, according to

Mr Clarence King, is the case in the geological province of the Great Basin of North America; the one movement, producing packing and plication, presumably occurred in post-Jurassic times; the other, with displacements strictly vertical, presumably within the Tertiary. By the second movement a large area was broken up into great crustal blocks, some of which slipped down in a vertical direction more than others, till they were again brought to rest—a result which may have been accelerated by the former squeezing up the more plastic inner material into the cavities beneath the latter. In such case the blocks which have been left behind in the downward movement will appear to have risen; the sea may overflow the others, and the ultimate result be a number of masses of older rocks rising like islands above newer ones. Such insulated masses, the 'horsts' of Prof. Suess, play, as we shall see, a very important part as factors in the crust of the earth, for the most striking results of tangential action occur in areas which, at an earlier date, have been profoundly modified by downward movements.

It is, however, possible that in some cases, as we shall see, the two movements may alternate, and an actual collapse of the crust not be the only cause of the one which produces ordinary faults. If a strip of crust be broken into blocks and these wedged together, they will occupy a longer space than they originally did—as we can see by imagining the alternate voussoirs of an arch to slip inwards while the others retain their position. So long ago as 1868, Canon J. M. Wilson, writing in the 'Geological Magazine,' showed that contortion was due to the subsidence of a curved surface, and faulting to its elevation. Hence, since we interpret folding to mean compression, it seems natural to infer from faulting an actual, not a relative elevation; that is, to regard folding as the result of stress, and faulting as the result of strain. If so, Prof. Suess' idea of the unequal dropping down of great crustal blocks, though generally true, may not be sufficiently comprehensive; and it would be more correct to say that, while contraction, when localised, causes the intense plication of mountain chains, it sometimes produces very low arches in a much wider area. It is therefore possible that, as Prof. Lapworth has suggested, broad zones of elevation and depression may

alternate (making allowance for local irregularities) in the crust of the earth as a whole.

Here we may refer to some experiments described in 1879 by the late Prof. Daubrée of Paris, which, perhaps, have hardly received the attention they deserve. Taking one of the large inflated balls of india-rubber, then common playthings with children, he applied a stiffening varnish to alternate longitudinal zones; after which he allowed a little of the gas to escape. The surface was no longer a sphere, the stiffened zones rising above the others in low, arched areas, bounded by circles of longitude and puckered repeatedly parallel with those of latitude. On these strain must have acted in one direction and stress in another at right angles to it. When a broad equatorial zone was similarly treated, arching and puckering occurred at right angles to their former directions. To the objections arising from these experiments we must add one of a more general character. We cannot but doubt whether a lens-shaped cavity would be so readily formed by the still plastic nucleus of the earth tearing itself away, in contracting, from the already solidified crust, as by a strain set up by the application of a gradually increasing lateral pressure to a similar section of that crust.

Thus Prof. Suess, as we think, unduly discredits movements indicative of an actual rise of the land. Dealing with this point, he selects for special examination two instances, one the Pacific coast of Chili, the other the Atlantic coast of Scandinavia with the British Isles. As regards the former, the account given by Charles Darwin in his 'Geological Observations' is so precise, and shows him to have been so fully on his guard against possible sources of error, that we may fairly demand more convincing evidence than is cited by Prof. Suess; and the other example, especially in regard to our own islands, was so fully discussed in 1904 by Sir A. Geikie in a presidential address to the Geological Society, that it may be enough to say that the old beaches and other sea-marks in Scandinavia can hardly be explained by a uniform subsidence of the sea-level. In the southern part they are generally absent in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, though making their appearance up the fjords, thus indicating that the land has risen more

rapidly in an eastern than in a northern direction. But north of Trondhjem they become more and more conspicuous—raised beaches, sometimes carved by the waves into two or three distinct terraces, or ice-worn rocks similarly grooved, being often visible; while the well-marked beaches within the limits of the Alten Fjord, as has been repeatedly shown during the last sixty years, are distinctly more elevated in one part than in the other.

Thus, while admitting that Prof. Suess succeeds in showing that a rise and fall of the land has sometimes been asserted on insufficient evidence, we cannot but hold this to have been a more important factor in altering the face of the earth than he is willing to concede. The 'dropping down' of comparatively large tracts of the earth's surface, by which countries have been separated and a hilly lowland converted into an island-studded sea, would be more easily brought about, for the reason already indicated, by the preliminary formation of a low arch in the earth's crust. But at any rate we may safely conclude that mountain-making is a consequence of localised folding, and that volcanic activity is generally associated with areas of vertical displacement or, in other words, with ordinary faulting.

To work out these leading ideas is the task undertaken in 'The Face of the Earth'; and it demands a careful study of the geological history of every portion of that face. The Professor illustrates it by the physical history of the Alps, which sweep in a great curve round the lowland of northern Italy, beginning to the west of Vienna and terminating abruptly against the sea in the neighbourhood of Genoa. But further study shows that this chain cannot be separated, on the one hand, from the Dalmatian Alps east of the Adriatic and, on the other, from the Apennines; and a wider survey indicates that other chains, such as the Carpathians, the Crimean hills and the Caucasus, towards the east, the Pyrenees on the west, and the Atlas on the south or south-west, appear to be related to the deep basin or basins of the Mediterranean. For such intense folding as the Alps display—where a strip of lowland not less than 200 miles broad is supposed to have been reduced by packing to about 130 miles—something more is necessary than a lateral thrust, due in some way or other to contraction of the globe. Such a thrust



might be expected to die away gradually in a declining series of folds. This close packing, even overfolding, indicates the presence of an immovable obstacle against which the beds now composing the mountains have been squeezed up.

In the case of the Alps, as well as of the other mountain chains already mentioned, such a barrier exists—a 'horst' on a gigantic scale. It appears as a great and comparatively undisturbed mass in the 'Russian platform,' which is almost bare of rocks later than Cretaceous times and has apparently resisted any local plication. This platform may be traced westward, through Poland, Saxony, Hungary, parts of Austria, and most of Germany, into France. In this direction, however, its structure becomes complicated, for it has been affected by a process of mountain-making, later in date than the British coal measures, which set its mark on a region extending from Westphalia to southern Ireland, as well as by subsequent collapses. These have left great blocks of crystalline rocks standing up like islands, as they probably did above the sea in which Jurassic, Cretaceous and early Tertiary strata were deposited. Those blocks may still be identified in the highlands of Bohemia and Bavaria, of the Schwarzwald and the Vosges, and in that great upland of crystalline rock which is now crowned by the volcanoes of Auvergne.

The Alpine region—for we must restrict ourselves to this—is the product of two sets of thrusts, acting apparently from the same direction, and radiating, if we include the Apennines and the Dalmatian mountains, from the depression now occupied by the Adriatic sea and the North Italian plain, from west of Turin to Venice. The rock-barrier to the north, which probably underlies, at no great depth, the lowland on that side of the Alps, was apparently strong enough to resist the making of any important fold except the Jura. Even this is really an outpost of the Alps, into which chain it passes near Chambéry. But the foundation, beneath the present Alpine chain, seems to have been weaker, perhaps because it had already twice undergone considerable disturbances, one before and the other immediately after Carboniferous times. So, between the thrust from the one side and the resistance on the other, it 'buckled up.'

In his fourth volume Prof. Suess returns to this subject, for it had received much notice during the twenty years' interval; but it may be doubted whether some of this later literature has really added to our knowledge. Certain of his authors not only affirm the existence of folds on a most abnormal scale, but also carry this process so far as to make it transfer strata from one side to the other of the present chain. Such a process, in a mass like the crust of the earth, though the movements may be comparatively superficial, is difficult to understand if any regard be paid to mechanical principles; and the evidence adduced in support of some of the most surprising folds depends on identifications of rocks which are more than questionable. We think, therefore, that Prof. Suess would have been wise to commit himself less unreservedly to views which belong rather to the poetry than the prose of science. The main fact, however, that the Alps are a region of an intense folding, sometimes of an exceptional character, associated occasionally with very remarkable overthrusting, is quite separate from these exaggerations or mistakes, and will remain unchanged when they have joined universal deluges, precipitated basalts, and aqueous granites, in the limbo appointed for exploded hypotheses.

Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions stand in close relation to movements of collapse. A zone of ancient, mainly crystalline rocks, the remnant of an old mountain region, sweeps along the 'foot' of Italy into north-eastern Sicily. Its western margin is a great seismic area, which passes under the Strait of Messina, and is indicative of a line of fault, probably extending to Etna. The Lipari Islands form two lines, the one parallel with the Italian, the other with the northern Sicilian coast. On the former stand Stromboli and Vulcano, nearly in a line with Etna, the only volcanoes still active; the latter passes from Ustica (to the north of Palermo) through two smaller islands, to the cluster by Panaria (probably the remnants of a shattered cone) marking the junction of the two fissures. Here is a region of crustal disturbances, of which Suess remarks:

'Within a space bounded by the peripheral line of 1783 (one of the destructive Calabrian earthquakes) the crust of the earth has sunk down in the form of a dish, and the radial

fractures have been produced which converge to the Lipari Islands. Any disturbance in the equilibrium of the several fragments of the crust gives rise to increased volcanic activity on the islands and to earthquakes on the mainland of Sicily.'

The principle thus indicated is capable of wide application. Some earthquakes, such as those at Ischia in 1881 and 1883, are the direct consequence of volcanic disturbance; but these, though sometimes destructive, generally affect only limited districts. On the other hand, earthquakes which shake whole provinces, like those of Calabria, of Charleston and of Lisbon, are independent of eruptive centres. Both these types of disturbance affect Central America. Here the grouping of the volcanoes, which appear to be shifting their centres of discharge towards the Pacific, suggests a sinking of the coast in that direction. This ocean, indeed, may be a region of general subsidence. It is bordered by lines of lofty mountains, often associated with volcanoes. In the northern continent of America lies the triple series of the Rockies, the Sierra Nevada and the Coast Range, with occasional volcanic summits which become more numerous and active in approaching the Arctic region. Along the western side of the southern continent extends the great Andean chain, with its linear groups (in Ecuador, Peru and Chile) of volcanic mountains, few of which are now active, but some are the most lofty on the globe. The Pacific on its western side is bordered at intervals by lines of volcanoes, which here are more conspicuous than folded mountains. Their orifices may be traced on a curve from New Zealand through the Melanesian Islands to New Guinea, where the rents seem to separate, one branch sweeping round through Sumatra and the Andaman Islands, the middle and most important passing through the Philippines and Japan to Kamchatka, and the eastern, the least strongly marked, running through the Ladrões till it rejoins the second one. Volcanic islands also, often with a linear grouping, interrupt the surface of the Pacific, suggesting that the whole of that vast ocean is an area of comparatively recent collapse, associated with marginal foldings and extrusion of liquid material as a result of marginal pressure.

Similar concurrences, though that of earthquakes

cannot, of course, be proved, may be traced far back in regions of mountain-making. The Alps, for instance, exhibit old lines of faultings transverse to the trends of the present ranges, associated with extrusions of igneous matter. The highland region, which, during the Carboniferous period, occupied no small portion of their site, was disturbed in the Permian. A progressive collapse began, especially in the eastern half, which lasted through more than the Secondary era, causing those outbursts of red porphyries, followed by basic lavas and tuffs, and, by intrusive masses of igneous rocks, of which the Fassathal, to the east of Botzen, was the more immediate centre, though it affected a much wider area. But tangential thrusts, operating first at the beginning and then at the end of Miocene times, produced the chain now known as the Alps. This chain has been affected by lines of fracture and more gentle folding, which have a general NNE.-SSW. trend, and may possibly be associated with the peculiar southward curvation which becomes conspicuous in Savoy and may be followed to the Mediterranean.

That sea, in many places, tells a similar story—regions of progressive collapse, associated with volcanic disturbances, with subterranean intrusions of molten rock, and with an extra-marginal zone of folding and thrusting. Large as is the Mediterranean Sea, it is but a remnant of a far wider expanse of water, which in Mid-Eocene ages extended, probably without interruption, from south-western England to China. Incidentally also this sea indicates that, in the long lapse of ages, the earth's crust has been subject to movements diverse in direction. During that part of the Cretaceous period, when chalk was being formed over parts of our islands and France, the sea, as proved by its deposits, was invading the lands forming its northern margin. But the Mid-Eocene sea trespassed also in the opposite direction; for in northern Africa, while a sandstone (not always present) is the only representative of the Cretaceous period, extensive beds of limestone, which often rest directly on ancient crystalline rocks, were left by the Mid-Eocene sea. This limestone, and even the more sandy beds into which it locally passes, can be readily recognised by the presence of an unusually large foraminifer, which, from its disc-like form,

has received the name of *nummulites*. Abundant in the sandy clays on the shore of Bracklesham Bay, in Sussex, it has been raised in the Alps to a height of some 10,000 feet above sea-level, and to double that height (according to Suess) in the Karakoram Himalayas. The most conspicuous physical features in Europe—perhaps also in Asia—had no existence when these lowly organisms lived and died.

But this great expanse of salt water was comparatively short-lived, as geologists reckon time. It soon began to shrink, and after some oscillations distinctly contracted. Great earth movements were setting in, connected with the rise of the Alps and other nearly related mountain chains. It is at this point that the Professor enters on the history of the sea which was more directly the forerunner of the existing Mediterranean. He divides this into four stages. The first, corresponding generally with the Middle Miocene, has for its more northern representatives certain deposits in the French Rhone valley and the marine sandstone (*Molasse*) of Switzerland; and these, in some places, pass up into gypsiferous marls (*Schlier*) which 'afford the spectacle of a great expiring sea.' But the second stage, corresponding with the Upper Miocene, proves a movement of expansion. During it were deposited the Fahluns of Touraine, the Leithakalk near Vienna, and sundry strata in Baden, Hungary, Transylvania and Wallachia, ending in the Danube valley with a remarkable group of beds which the Professor designates the 'Sarmatian' stage. This deposit is interesting, for, though fossil mollusca are remarkably numerous, the number of species is comparatively small, probably not more than fifty. They prove that great changes in the conditions of life occurred during this second Mediterranean stage. In its earlier phase calcareous algæ, corals, bryozoa, echinoderms and foraminifers were abundant; and many of the molluscs represent genera now characteristic of subtropical seas. Practically none of these occur in the fauna of the Sarmatian phase, which indicates a temperate climate corresponding rather with that of the Black Sea than that of the present Mediterranean. The highest strata even became lacustrine, and may be said to foreshadow the Euxine and Aralo-Caspian basins.

At the beginning of the third Mediterranean stage the sea once more broadened out, covering even these 'Pontic beds' with truly marine strata, the fauna of which approaches more closely than hitherto to that of the existing Mediterranean. Since this time, however, many changes, climatal and geographical, have taken place in the European area, but we can only mention one or two of the most remarkable. The deposits of the third Mediterranean stage, which corresponds generally with the Lower Pliocene in other regions, show by their position that the vertical movements of the sea-margin have amounted in some places to little less than 4000 feet, and by their fauna that only a limited number of the southern forms which had been driven away by the changes leading to the 'Pontic' condition were able to regain their footing in the Mediterranean area. In fact, the approach of conditions unfavourable to their existence, and probably a gradual refrigeration of climate, are indicated by the general aspect of the fauna of the third stage. This becomes more conspicuous in the passage to the fourth (or Upper Pliocene) stage, in which they are still further reduced in number; and 'we meet with a completely new element which has hitherto been foreign to the Mediterranean, namely, a series of northern immigrants.' These, no doubt, signify the gradual approach of that age of severe and widespread cold known as the Glacial epoch.

All through the first and second Mediterranean stages the *Ægean* region stood above sea-level. During the third it was the site of a deep fresh-water lake and formed part of a large land area, linking the existing continent of Europe with Asia Minor, to the south of which lay the Mediterranean of that age. Then, during the fourth stage, the southern part of this continental area subsided—the volcanic line of the Cyclades probably indicating the position of the fracture, along which eruptions and earthquakes continue to the present day; and the sea penetrated as far northwards as Melos, Rhodes and the eastern part of Cos. Finally, in very recent times, the remainder of the *Ægean* area subsided, and its waters spread 'far and wide over the Pontic basin and even overflowed the otherwise regular shores of this sea into the Sea of Azov.' Nor is the *Ægean*

the only region of comparatively recent subsidence. The island of Malta, the Adriatic and the Tyrrhenian seas, all, in one way or another, bear witness to fractures and downward movements in those parts of the crust. In addition to this, there has been a sinking, not always uniform, of the sea-line; and, though the Professor evidently dislikes the idea of upheavals of the land, we must not forget that the latter is also possible.

The same principles of interpretation are extended to the larger ocean basins. They also are great sunken areas, the continents assuming the character of 'horsts,' in each case, no doubt, complicated, and not the result of a single movement or necessarily simultaneous. A short inspection, indeed, suffices to show that great differences exist between the Atlantic and Indian Oceans on the one hand and the Pacific Ocean on the other. The Pacific is bordered by long mountain chains and surrounded by volcanoes; there is no such boundary to either of the other seas. The mountains limiting the Pacific are found on examination to be folded ranges, which, though presenting some differences on the east and on the west, agree in turning their folds towards the depths of the sea. But away from the eastern coastline the structure of the Eurasian continent is extremely complex; and the trends of its folds are more or less transverse to the ocean borders. These do much to determine the boundary of the Atlantic. The eastern margin, instead of being limited by a mountain chain, cuts transversely across the above-named folds and receives from them its well-known irregular outlines. This, no doubt, is true; but we must not forget that deep indentations, such as occur on the coasts of western Scandinavia and western Patagonia, are often due to a change in the sea-level, which many geologists would attribute to a subsidence of the land. The western coast of the Atlantic, though the Alleghany ranges run parallel with it, shows, when it is traced along the two continents, a similar diversity of trend.

The associations of movements on the land and in the ocean are less clear, and apparently belong to more remote dates in the Atlantic and Indian Oceans than they do in the Pacific. In the vast expanse of this sea, islands, either volcanic or coral reefs (the latter probably



often founded on extinct cones) are numerous ; and some of the most profound abysses are parallel with and not far away from greatly folded areas. Here there is a region of collapses on a grander scale and more recent than in the Atlantic. Movements have also occurred, as we have seen, on the continents. It is indeed true that 'where the long street roars hath been The stillness of the central sea'; but its depths have nowhere equalled the abysses of the great oceans. Even the sea in which the white chalk of northern France and parts of Britain was formed, though unusually free from sediment, was probably nowhere so much as 2000 feet in depth, which is not one-sixth of that attained by the greater part of the bed in the Atlantic and the Pacific. In one sense these oceans are very old, because they include basins which may go back to a remote antiquity, and may even be indicative, as some eminent astronomers suppose, of masses flung off into space when the earth's crust was still weak and the rotation about its axis was much more rapid than at the present day. In outline, however, they are more recent. The Indian Ocean, according to Suess, is perhaps the oldest, and had been formed by the subsidence of the greater part of a continent, named Gondwanaland by geologists, which united India and Africa, and of which the Archæan rocks of the Seychelles and Mauritius may be remnants. The Atlantic results from the gradual enlargement of two gulfs, which projected north and south from that old Mediterranean of which we have already spoken, and may date from the middle of the Tertiary era, while the Pacific may have undergone great changes during still later times. In regard to these matters evidence is difficult to obtain. Something may be inferred, as mentioned above, from islands which consist of very ancient rocks and from the presence, in unaltered sedimentary strata, now widely separated, of closely allied plants or animals which are incapable of crossing a broad expanse of sea ; but, as a rule, the ocean keeps its secrets.

Prof. Suess returns to this subject, or rather sums up a long series of descriptions, in the opening chapter of his third volume. In language unusually terse and lucid he states his ideas of how he conceives the earth's features to have been formed. Could we see it in the same way

as the moon, we should perceive a great difference between the two. The moon is without those long continuous systems of folds which form the mountain chains of the earth. It is without clouds or seas, and gives no sign of stratified deposits. Its surface is studded with the craters of extinct volcanoes, broad rather than high; some many leagues in diameter, others more nearly comparable with those of Hawaii, besides smaller parasitic craters, evidently of later origin. Its crust also, apparently scoriaceous, shows, in its fissures of contraction and crater rills, signs of progressive solidification. On the earth's crust the volcanoes are mostly grouped along circular areas, some of which are those of folded ranges, while others, such as the volcanic lines of Mexico and South America, together with the Ethiopian fault-troughs, cut them at all angles and maintain an independent course. This, at first sight, seems an anomaly, but it is capable of explanation, because the trend-lines of mountain systems are the results, as we have already intimated, of something more than a simple lateral pressure. The geologist who would interpret the meaning of the wrinkles and scars on the earth's time-worn face must ascertain the plan of these trend-lines. Lack of information about some important regions made this almost impossible when Prof. Suess began his task; but so much knowledge has been acquired during the interval between the second and third volumes, that it has been done in the latter, though, as he frankly states, some of his conclusions can be only provisional.

Turning, then, to the trend-lines of Europe, where we are on surer ground, we find as a result of our study that, as a general truth, all the Archæan rocks have suffered folding or an equivalent compression. Later rocks also may be greatly plicated, but this is more local; while their strata, when comparatively undisturbed, are almost always found to rest on a denuded surface of folded ancient rocks. In our own country

' the gneisses of the Hebrides were folded and levelled before the Torridon sandstone was deposited upon their remains. Over this sandstone the Caledonian mountain-flakes were thrust from the south-east in pre-Devonian times. Towards the close of the Carboniferous epoch the folding of the Armorican and Variscan arcs took place. When these arcs

had been broken up into horsts there occurred still further to the south, and hemmed in by these horsts, the formation of the Alps' (Suess, iii, 5).

They also indicate a triple movement. Combined with the Jura, they form 'parts of the southernmost, innermost and most recent of those crescentic systems of folds which have arisen, one after the other, across Central Europe.' That alone indicates the necessity for a second factor in mountain-making—something to resist as well as something to push; and this is found, as we have already stated, in the great and sometimes half-buried land-masses on the other side of the yielding area. Augmented in Palæozoic ages by the results of the Armorican and Caledonian foldings, this great mass of crust was too solid to yield to the pressures from the Mediterranean region, to the border zone of which the puckering was restricted. The trend-lines also, as Prof. Suess points out, are affected by the basin of the Atlantic. 'The arc of Gibraltar and that of the Lesser Antilles, lying almost symmetrically, are bent completely round as they approach the Atlantic region, as though some unknown and mysterious force prevented their entry into this domain.' Not only so, but the basin of Asturias shows that, prior to the former arc, a similar kind of flexure existed eight degrees further north. How such curves could be successively formed, unless we assume the existence of some kind of wave propagating itself freely through the crust of the earth, seems to be inexplicable.

These considerations justify the inference that there are tracts of the earth's surface which have been protected from extensions of the sea and from mountain-building for a very long period. Here, then, terrestrial faunas would find places of refuge; here they would increase and multiply in more favourable circumstances; here also, in consequence of modification of their environment such as general climatal change, processes of hybridisation, and other disturbances of a uniformity of descent, they would develop new species and genera. Four such asylums may be roughly outlined: (1) Laurentia, including a large portion of North America, extending up to the Arctic Ocean; (2) Angaraland, or the tableland of East Siberia, with, possibly, parts of China; (3) Gondwana-

land, which included not only, as already stated, the Indian peninsula, a large portion of Africa from the Cape to the Sahara, together with Sinai and the island of Madagascar, but also great parts of Brazil and Argentina; and (4) Antartidis, with Patagonia and Australia. These, with a few exceptions, have not been affected by folding movements since Carboniferous times, which, in the northern hemisphere, have spent their force either in front or in the rear of those movements.

Such are the conclusions which are worked out in 'Das Antlitz' with a wealth of detail that could only have been accumulated by incessant, almost incredible, labour. As the process has been inevitably gradual, its results, as expressed in this treatise, sometimes lack the clearness of one continuously written, in which each branch of the subject has been taken up in its turn and worked out once for all, perhaps even with some superfluous detail. The author's style is not a model of lucidity; and the translators must have occasionally found their task a hard one. It has, however, been excellently done; for, though here and there the turn of a phrase may suggest a German original, we forget this as a rule. They have, however, occasionally rendered themselves less intelligible by a fondness for terms known only to the younger school of geologists, or for words of rare occurrence in our own language. Readers may have a fair knowledge of science and yet be a little bewildered by 'holisopy,' 'isopy' and 'heteropy,' which confront him in two or three consecutive lines; 'quer-Andinean' is less intelligible than 'across the Andes' or 'transverse to the Andes'; the phrase a 'rift valley' less accurate than a 'trough-fault valley.' 'Flaws,' for a class of dislocation causing earth-movements, is no improvement on 'faults,' for it implies the cause rather than the consequence of a displacement; 'stowing' is no better than 'packing' or 'crowding up,' for it has to be employed in an unusual sense; nor is 'colk' an improvement on the familiar 'pot-hole' for a cavity worn in a rock by whirling water aided by stones.

We should not have noticed these small matters were they not the outcome of a tendency which is becoming harmful to the cause of science. As this progresses and knowledge multiplies, technical terms must inevitably

increase in number. They serve as time-savers, like chemical formulæ and algebraical symbols; but, like a hedge of wait-a-bit thorns, they deter from any approach to the science men of ordinary education or those trained in other branches. This may be a loss even to 'specialists' in geology, for they may fall into the danger of losing their sense of proportion by an over-minute concentration on details, and so may be the better rather than the worse for the criticism from the standpoint of educated common-sense. But the defects which we have noticed are but motes in the sunbeam, which it seems almost ungenerous to mention, so deeply are we indebted to Dr Hertha Sollas, on whom has fallen the main burden of the translation, and Prof. Sollas, her father, by whom it has been directed and revised. The book has cost them some years of heavy labour, but they may find a reward in feeling that they have made 'Das Antlitz der Erde' accessible to students imperfectly acquainted with German, and have thus assisted the progress of geology.

Thanks are also due to the Delegates of the Clarendon Press for the excellent 'get-up' of the work and for their public spirit in entering, for the sake of science, upon an undertaking which can hardly be remunerative. Most of all do we owe gratitude to Prof. Suess himself. This work has been the main labour, and will be a worthy monument, of his life. Though we have ventured here and there to express doubts as to his conclusions, and though our personal knowledge of certain districts leads us to think that he depends too much on the improved hypotheses of some latter-day geologists, we gladly acknowledge his zeal, his industry, his conscientiousness, and his obvious desire to be impartial. He has given us a book which is a perfect treasury of information, and which, when completed by a good index, will be consulted, like an encyclopædia, for many years to come, since it embodies almost everything that is known of the earth's geological history in these opening years of the twentieth century.

T. G. BONNEY.

# Art. 12.—THE CHINESE REVOLUTION.

1. *China under the Dowager Empress.* By J. O. P. Bland and E. Backhouse. London: Heinemann, 1910.
2. *Two years in the Forbidden City.* By Princess Der Ling. London: Fisher Unwin, 1912.
3. *Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East.* By Prof. Paul S. Reinsch. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1912.
4. *Lion and Dragon in Northern China.* By R. E. Johnston. London: Murray, 1910.
5. The China Correspondents of the 'Times.'

THE Manchu, or Great Pure Dynasty, which ascended the Dragon Throne by right of conquest nearly three centuries ago, has ceased to reign. Vainly did it drain the cup of humiliation in a series of extraordinary penitential 'decrees' before resigning itself to the final act of abdication. A Republic has been proclaimed, and proclaimed under the very seal of the young Dowager Empress, acting on behalf of the six-year-old infant Emperor to whom are reserved the shadowy rights and privileges of a *rex sacrificulus*. Yuan Shih-k'ai, the astute soldier statesman who, fourteen years ago, might have saved his country had he not betrayed the unfortunate Emperor Kuang Hsü and his Reform friends into the hands of the masterful 'Old Buddha,' has assumed the Presidency of the Republic with the acquiescence and support of the revolutionary leaders at Nanking. A delegation from the so-called National Assembly of Nanking, which itself represents only a number of self-constituted revolutionary committees formed in other provinces, has reached Peking to negotiate with Yuan Shih-k'ai with regard to the future government of the country. But the Treasury is empty, and, though various cosmopolitan groups are engaged in an insane competition for the privilege of spoon-feeding it, not the least heavy of the mill-stones that hang about the new Republic's neck is the growing burden of foreign indebtedness piled up during the last eighteen years. Within a few days of Yuan Shih-k'ai's assumption of the Presidency the troops upon whose fidelity he chiefly relied broke into open mutiny and dispersed, after

looting the capital under his very eyes. The maintenance of order in Peking seems now to depend, strangely enough, upon the Manchu forces recruited from the bannermen of the deposed dynasty, and, in the last resort, upon the presence of the foreign Legation guards, which the Powers have all recently reinforced. In Nanking and other cities of the Middle and Lower Yangtsze Valley, as well as in the chief towns on the coast, the revolutionary authorities have also maintained or restored some semblance of order.

Not much detailed information is so far available with regard to the condition of things prevailing in the more remote provinces of the Empire. All we know is that the revolutionary movement spread like wild-fire from city to city; in some places almost peacefully, in others amid scenes of frightful barbarity, as at Sianfu, the old Imperial city to which the Court fled in 1900, where 10,000 Manchus are stated to have been massacred in cold blood. The representatives of Imperial authority, Viceroy, Governors, Tartar Generals, submitted or fled, or, less frequently, fell victims at their posts to the fury of the populace and the mutinous soldiery. The great province of Szechuan, with its 60,000,000 inhabitants, declared itself independent; so also Kansu and, it would seem, Yunnan. It is no exaggeration to say that in a great part of the country, with the disappearance of the old constituted authorities, a reign of anarchy set in, of which the end is not yet. Civil war on a large scale ceased with the armistice concluded after the recapture of Wuchang and the neighbouring cities of the Middle Yangtsze by Yuan Shih-k'ai's forces, and the fall of Nanking into the hands of the rebels in November, but the presence of large armed forces, ill paid and undisciplined, constitutes one of the most serious dangers to which the new régime is exposed; and from all parts of China stories of marauding bands living on pillage and blackmail are, it may be feared, merely an earnest of worse things to come. Happily there have been very few cases of outrage upon foreigners, and in general no display of anti-foreign feeling.

All this has happened within less than six months since the first rioting in Szechuan, and within less than four years since death removed almost at the same hour the poor phantom-Emperor Kuang Hsü and the merciless



old woman whose extraordinary personality lives for all time in the pages of Messrs Bland and Backhouse's book, the most thrilling and the most important document which China has ever yielded to the West. A nation comprising one-fifth of the human race, hitherto regarded as the most immutable of nations, has plunged suddenly headlong into the unknown. Seldom has the world witnessed a more startling drama; yet so absorbed are we in our own affairs that, even in this country, notwithstanding the great commercial and financial interests we ourselves have at stake, it has been watched hitherto with little more than perfunctory curiosity, and, one might be inclined to add, with an optimism for which it is difficult to see any valid grounds. Without for a moment underrating such assets in a great national crisis as the patience and long-suffering endurance of the Chinese masses, the spirit of compromise which is one of the characteristic features of the race, and the 'sweet reasonableness' which, it must be admitted, has hitherto marked the negotiations between the rival camps at Nanking and at Peking, few would be so rash as to believe that the proclamation of a new form of government can at once arrest the vast and unknown forces so suddenly and violently let loose. Few, in fact, would be so rash as to indulge in predictions of any kind. The materials are not yet at hand for any trustworthy account or reasoned appreciation of what has already happened. All one can do is to read, so far as they go, the signs of the times, and to seek, in trying to interpret them, for such analogies as history may furnish for the guidance of judgment.

Hence one naturally turns in the first place to Japan, in every way so much nearer to China and so much more closely and even vitally interested in the future of China than any of the Western nations.

'The greatest mistake which you Western people, and more especially you English people, made in all your dealings with China was to help the Manchus in putting down the Taiping Rebellion. The history of China shows that, by some fateful dispensation, the appointed term comes sooner or later to all her successive dynasties. When they have become incapable of performing their proper functions in the State, discontent makes itself irresistibly felt, widespread disturbances occur, and ulti-

mately, whether by rebellion at home or through the instrumentality of an alien conqueror, the ruling house is swept away to make room for some new and more effective occupant of the Dragon Throne. There can be very little doubt that the Manchu Dynasty had reached the end of its proper tether when the Taiping Rebellion occurred; and, by preventing its overthrow, Gordon and his "ever-victorious army" arrested a normal and healthy process of nature. Nothing that the Manchus have done since then affords the slightest evidence that they deserved to be saved. Rather the contrary. And when they fall, as fall they must and will before very long, the upheaval will be all the more violent and all the more protracted for having been so long and unduly postponed.'

So Prince Ito said to me when I was last in Tokio in the spring of 1909, only a few months before the greatest of Japan's 'Elder Statesmen' came to his tragic end in Manchuria. Few Japanese were better acquainted with China; few followed the course of events there with keener interest; few had more intimate friends amongst the best Chinese; few also had a greater admiration for all the solid qualities of the Chinese people. Starting with the above remarks, he discoursed to me at some length and with great earnestness as to the future of China; and the dramatic events of the last few months have already so largely borne out his anticipations that the views which he then expressed to me still form, I think, a contribution of the utmost value to the study of the present situation in China. I propose therefore to reproduce as fully and as faithfully as I can the exhaustive reasons which he gave me for believing that a great upheaval in China could no longer be delayed, and that when it came it was bound to usher in a period of long-drawn turmoil and strife.

'Western observers,' Prince Ito proceeded, 'are apt to ask why China after all may not be expected to work out her own salvation in much the same way as Japan did half a century ago, and with results equally beneficial to her people. I am afraid they forget how very different were the conditions under which the transformation of Japan was effected, and how much more favourable than those which, so far as we can judge, exist to-day in China. Though it was the appearance of Admiral Perry's fleet in

Japanese waters in 1853 that actually broke down the walls of Japanese self-isolation, the Japanese people had already begun on their own account to undermine those walls. I can bear witness myself to the eagerness which prevailed long before that eventful year amongst the young men of my own class and generation to know something of all the wonderful things going on in the mysterious Western world of which we were only allowed to catch a very faint and distorted glimpse in the small Dutch settlement at Deshima. As you know, I was one of the small band who did not wait for the abolition of the heavy penalties imposed upon foreign intercourse, to undertake what seemed at that time a wildly adventurous voyage of exploration into the unknown realms of Western civilisation. You know also with what enthusiasm the youth of Japan followed our example as soon as the old restrictions were removed, and how promptly the State itself began to encourage investigation in every field of Western knowledge.

The Chinese, on the other hand, have already had for nearly three-quarters of a century abundant opportunities of contact with the West. Chinese and Europeans have lived for whole decades side by side in the Treaty Ports. Chinese officials have endured the foreigner's presence solely because they could not help themselves; and the only class that displayed more friendly tolerance towards him were the traders to whom he brought new opportunities of lucrative commerce. But in no section of the Chinese community was there, for upwards of fifty years, the slightest desire to assimilate or to understand the ideas of their "barbarian" neighbours. You have yourself seen the native city of Shanghai, with all that it stands for of misgovernment and squalor, living its own life, unchanged and changeless, within a stone's throw of the Model Settlement of international Shanghai, with its splendid methods of municipal administration and all its manifold monuments of well-ordered Western energy and enterprise. In the juxtaposition of those two cities lies the most striking illustration of the gulf which has continued to separate the Chinese mind from the Western mind, in spite of all the practical object lessons which the West has brought to the very doors of China. Within the last few years no doubt there has been a con-

siderable and a very rapid change, but even that change is not so much a spontaneous growth from within as the result of the importation of Western ideas from without by young Chinese, who have been educated abroad and who have returned to their own country not only imbued with Western conceptions, but almost as widely estranged from all the old Chinese conceptions and from the Chinese point of view as if they were themselves foreigners by birth. Hence the crudity and violence of the doctrines which they teach—doctrines which tend not to the adaptation of what is best or most practical in Western conceptions to Chinese conditions, but to the wholesale uprooting of all Chinese traditions and the revolutionary substitution for them of Western formulæ.

‘The aggressive impact of the West precipitated a great crisis in our history, but it found us prepared to meet that crisis, because the feudal evolution of Japan enabled her to produce at the given moment not only a few individual leaders but a whole class of society equipped and ready to take the lead in a great national movement. There was already, too, in the air a great national idea around which the new and, if you like, revolutionary aspirations of the country were able to crystallise in such a shape as to secure, together with all the benefits of a real revolution, the unbroken continuity of ancient traditions. Instead of destroying the Throne, we were able to claim that our object was to restore the Imperial authority, too long usurped by the Tokugawa Shogunate. The Daimios and the Samurais, who represented the progressive forces in the country, rallied round their Emperor and rescued him from the humiliating seclusion to which he and his predecessors for generations past had been relegated at Kyoto; and under his august leadership the nation entered upon new paths with the confidence and courage which the sanction of its most ancient and sacred traditions could alone inspire. Thus what was undoubtedly in effect a tremendous revolution has gone down, and rightly gone down, to history as a Restoration, i.e. the restoration of the Imperial authority revived by the spirit of New Japan.’

‘In China one looks, I fear, in vain for any great national idea that can afford a rallying-cry to the different forces which are combined only, as far as one can see, in

a spirit of confused revolt against the old order of things. They cannot rally round the dynasty, for, on the contrary, the dynasty, besides being an alien dynasty, is identified in the mind of Young China with everything against which it is revolting. Nor is there any class which seems capable of directing and controlling a great national movement. The great bureaucracy, which is the only aristocracy that China possesses, is, in spite of some brilliant exceptions, as a whole notoriously incompetent and corrupt. The merchants may be taken as the nearest equivalent to a middle class in China, and in business they have acquired a considerable reputation for honesty and intelligence; but they have always held aloof from public affairs, which, with the Chinese talent for specialisation, they dismiss as entirely outside their own sphere of activity. The great mass of the population is probably even more inert in China than in most Oriental countries. It is thrifty and extremely industrious, but it has been accustomed for so many centuries to be treated by its rulers as the "stupid people" that it may be held now almost to justify the epithet by its supreme indifference to everything beyond its own narrow horizon of daily toil. The young students who have returned from abroad form a very vocal and not unimportant body of agitators, many of whom are animated with excellent intentions; but they have no roots in the country and many of them have entirely lost touch with their own people. As for the Chinese army, it would seem extremely improbable that in a country such as China, so completely bereft of all military traditions, an army could be organised that would possess both the efficiency and the discipline required in a great national emergency.

'Moreover, we must remember, and the Japanese do remember gratefully, that though it was the menace of Western fleets that finally roused us out of our torpor, and though, on one or two occasions, there were actual conflicts between different Japanese factions and the forces of the West, Japan was, on the whole, allowed to work out her own salvation with a minimum of foreign interference. The territorial integrity of our islands was never violated; our national independence was never threatened. The Western Powers had not at that time developed in the Far East the territorial ambitions which

the helplessness of China irresistibly stimulated thirty or forty years later. They possessed then in Japan none of those material interests which have so often served in China as an excuse, more or less valid, for foreign intervention. Foreign settlements in Japan were few, and all that they claimed was security for life and property and modest opportunities of trade. They were confined to one or two points on the coast. There were no missionaries in the interior of the country, no foreign enterprises, no mining concessions, no railways, no spheres of influence, and, above all, no heavy burden of foreign indebtedness to afford leverage to the dangerous forces of international finance.

'Look, on the other hand, at China to-day. Large and flourishing Western communities have planted themselves not only on the Chinese coast, but far away in the interior, along the great waterways of China. Western missionaries have penetrated into all parts of China, and so has Western commercial and industrial enterprise. China is covered with a network of Western economic interests in the shape of mining and railway concessions; and, last but not least, China has delivered herself into the hands of Western finance by piling up enormous foreign loans, for which she has had to pledge the most substantial part of her revenue. Portions of her territory are leased and held by foreign Powers, and foreign troops are more or less permanently quartered in her capital. What remains of her territorial integrity and independence, which she has no material means of defending for herself, is protected, in so far as it is protected at all, far more by international jealousies than by the treaties which are supposed to guarantee them. Yet, though China is, and in fact always has been, at the mercy of foreign Powers, a large section of her would-be reformers do not hesitate to adopt towards them an attitude of almost truculent defiance. One may hope that, when the crisis comes, wiser counsels may prevail; but it is difficult to see how any great upheaval in China, or even any far-reaching reforms, can take place without affecting more or less directly and seriously the widespread ramification of economic and commercial, let alone political interests which foreign Powers are bound to see upheld.

'Of destructive elements there may be enough and

more than enough in China to produce a revolution, but of the constructive elements required to evolve a new and stable order of things out of the chaos which a revolution would produce, there are as yet but few indications. Remembering, therefore, as I do, that under far more favourable conditions Japan had to pass through fifteen years of dangerous travail and sometimes sanguinary strife between the beginning of the end of the old régime in 1853 and the final inauguration of the new régime in 1868, I have, you will admit, some reason for looking forward with the gravest apprehension to what the near future may bring to China and indirectly to my own country, since nothing can happen in China without closely and directly affecting Japan.'

One of the most pregnant points made by Prince Ito is, I think, the contrast between the imperviousness of the Chinese mind to all Western influences until within the last few years, in spite of more than half a century of contact, however reluctant, with Western nations, and the spontaneous stirring of the waters in Japan long before foreign intercourse was actually forced upon her. The history of the intellectual life of Japan during the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century has never yet received in Europe the attention which it deserves. When, in the seventeenth century, the Shoguns proscribed Christianity on political rather than religious grounds, and penalised all intercourse with Western nations, the only exception made was in favour of Dutch traders, who were allowed, under very humiliating restrictions, to maintain a small station, visited once a year by their ships, on the rocky islet of Deshima in the great land-locked harbour of Nagasaki. This was the one chink through which, for two centuries, the Japanese were allowed to peer across the seas into the outside world. Yet this policy of exclusion never implied in Japan the contempt for Western learning which was universal amongst Chinese *literati*. There is illumination as well as pathos in the story of the small band of Japanese scholars, chiefly students of medicine and natural sciences, who laboured in the eighteenth century, often at great risk, to teach themselves Dutch, out of a few Dutch books which they succeeded in getting smuggled into Nagasaki, in order to



acquire the rudiments of Western knowledge. Not only had these studies borne fruit by the beginning of the nineteenth century in several scientific works based upon Dutch text-books, but in 1811 an official Translation Bureau was sanctioned by the Tokugawa Government, and European doctors such as the great German Von Siebold, to whom in his day the West owed its chief knowledge of Japan, were allowed to lecture more or less openly to Japanese students at Nagasaki. At the same time, Japanese presses began to produce works on scientific and philosophical subjects, and even on political, economic and military questions, more or less informed with Western learning; and gradually the way was opened up to the study of English and French as well as of Dutch. Shindo Tsuboi, who died in 1848, five years before Admiral Perry appeared in Japanese waters, left behind him 2000 pupils who had learnt something of the value of Western knowledge in the school he had founded at Fukagawa. Thus, when the ban was finally removed from intercourse with the West, the soil was already prepared for the wonderful harvest which has ripened in Japan during the last fifty years under the influence of unrestrained contact with Western civilisation.

In China, on the other hand, during half a century of constant intercourse with foreign nations, there was scarcely a movement, even of curiosity, towards foreign learning and foreign methods until they were discovered to afford a convenient vehicle for political agitation. In Prof. Reinsch's 'Intellectual and Political Currents in the Far East'—a work imbued with the deepest sympathy for the awakening of Asia—there is a particularly interesting, if somewhat optimistic, chapter on the Reform Movement in China. He rightly draws attention to the elevating influence of such modern thinkers as Ku Hung-ming, who urged their fellow countrymen to look for salvation in a revival and new interpretation of the old creeds. Indeed, according to Ku Hung-ming, 'little as the Englishman suspects, Confucianism, with its Way of the Superior Man, will one day change the social order, and break up the civilisation of Europe.' At the same time, Buddhism, restored to a purer form of worship and thought, must recover its hold and exert a more wholesome and stimulating influence upon the masses. But

less philosophic souls turned wholly towards the West. Some sought to make Western science and literature accessible to their fellow-countrymen by supplying a comprehensive library of translations from Western authors, ranging from Spencer and Huxley to Dickens and Dumas. Others were chiefly anxious to familiarise the Chinese mind with Western methods of government and administration; and amongst these there were earnest advocates of constitutional evolution in the direction of representative institutions by no means altogether alien to Chinese traditions. But the majority, it must be feared, preferred to turn to the revolutionary literature of the West and look to the French Revolution for their models.

'By them' (Prof. Reinsch himself admits) 'national advance is interpreted as the direct result of forcible action and bloodshed; and it is entirely overlooked that the modern progress of Europe rests upon the peaceful development and quiet labour of centuries; that it is the result of that combination of tendencies and structural faculties which we call Western civilisation; and that the bloody movements, while indeed outbursts of great energy, were useful only in that they removed obstacles, but were not in themselves the source of sustained strength and progress. This theory of the beneficence of revolutions, originating from a superficial reading of history, has taken a deep hold in China. . . . It has been condensed into a proverb: "Blood must flow before any improvement can come."'

Be it noted, too, that Sun Yat-sen himself, who moreover has lived most of his life abroad, appears to have been the chief apostle of this doctrine.

After the Boxer calamity the old Empress herself was fain to allow and even to encourage the young Chinese to go and study abroad in increasing numbers, chiefly in Japan and America. There they came into contact with the survivors of the Chinese Reform movement of 1898, who carried on an active propaganda amongst them. But the younger generation, in contact with still more advanced elements amongst their foreign surroundings, soon outstripped their masters; and as, year after year, these young students returned to their own country fired with the strong wine of new ideas, they hastened to raise more or less openly the standard of revolt against the old order of things. They founded newspapers, they estab-

lished 'patriotic' clubs and committees, they controlled the schools which were being hastily opened, here, there and everywhere, on the Western model; they penetrated even into the official yamens and into the counting-houses of the rich merchants; and, wherever their influence reached, they found responsive elements in the general discontent provoked by the bankruptcy of the old régime. The widespread movement against opium-smoking and the foot-binding of women and the stimulus given to popular education were amongst the healthier results of this powerful ferment. Far less wise was the display of chauvinistic 'nationalism' in the outcry against the Treaty rights of foreign nations in China, and against the privileges enjoyed by the foreign settlements in the Treaty Ports—privileges of which the more fiery spirits were the first to avail themselves for the purposes of a revolutionary propaganda they dared not carry on within the immediate jurisdiction of Chinese authority.

But, however intensely 'nationalist' the patriotism of Young China claimed to be, it remained at bottom essentially provincial. For what it most successfully appealed to was the ancient and deep-seated antagonism between the provinces and Peking. In so vast an Empire as that of China, with the slenderest means of communication, with such marked differences of dialect that the spoken tongue of one region is often unintelligible in another, with equally marked differences of climate and of natural resources and even of character and of temperament, the ties which held the loose fabric of Empire together were only tolerable so long as the Central Government subjected the provinces to no new strain that lacked the sanction of ancient custom and tradition. So little confidence has the Central Government ever had in the loyalty of the provinces that, not only was a Manchu force under a Tartar general always maintained in the chief centres, but the Viceroys and high provincial officials were never allowed to hold office in the province to which by birth they belonged. Even so, the provincial authorities, though alien to the provinces they administered, were often obliged to make a strong stand for provincial interests against the Central Government lest they should strain provincial patience beyond even the limits of Chinese endurance and thereby jeopardise

their own position. For, whilst the Central Government left them free to fill their own pockets with the spoils of the provinces on condition that a proper share found its way ultimately into the bottomless purse of the Peking Mandarins, the one official sin for which there was no forgiveness in Peking was to drive provincial discontent to such a pitch that it translated itself into active disorder. How little any community of national interests was acknowledged in the provinces received a startling, if somewhat humorous, illustration during the war between China and Japan, when the Canton Government petitioned the Japanese to release some Cantonese ships captured at Wei Hai Wei, on the ground that Canton was not concerned in the war, and that the southern fleet had proceeded north under a misapprehension.

The most delicate point in the relations between the provinces and the Central Government was, of course, finance. For Peking had to live; and, whilst it fulfilled practically none of the most elementary functions of government in regard to the provinces, it was dependent upon the provinces for the revenue which it selfishly squandered. The distribution of revenue and expenditure between Peking and the provinces had therefore been, from time immemorial, a constant bone of contention; but, so long as what we may call Imperial expenditure was kept within customary bounds and the Imperial Exchequer retained a certain primitive elasticity, the old rule of thumb, applied to the adjustment of the rival claims of Peking and of the provincial treasuries, sufficed to work out an accommodation. Moreover, Peking had an ingenious way of playing off one provincial treasury against another by robbing Peter to pay Paul, and conceding to one specially clamorous province a call upon the revenue of another province.

The old chaotic system was bound to break down as soon as an entirely novel strain was placed upon it. That strain occurred when, after the Japanese War, China began to pile up foreign loans of which the service had to be made with inexorable Western punctuality. At the beginning of 1894 China owed abroad the trifling sum of 115,080*l*. To-day the foreign indebtedness of China amounts altogether to close upon 130,000,000*l*., of which barely a quarter has been contracted for reproductive

expenditure, three-quarters representing the cost of the Japanese War and of the Boxer adventure. In the growth of this foreign debt lies the chief key to China's present troubles. No doubt the victories of Japan in 1894-5, the occupation of Peking by the foreign armies in 1900, the absorption of Manchuria by Russia and Japan, the extraordinary spectacle of impotency offered by China during the Russo-Japanese War, waged for the most part on Chinese territory, aroused amongst the Chinese a cumulative sense of bitterness and humiliation. But it may be doubted whether, in remote parts of the Empire, these disasters would have produced the concrete results which we are now witnessing, had not the provinces been called upon to pay in hard cash for the national ruin which Peking had provoked and suffered. The repeated twists given by the Central Government to the financial thumb-screw throughout the Empire brought home to the provinces, as nothing else could, the unpleasant fact that, however little community of interests there was between them and the Central Government, they were expected to share common responsibilities. Even the provincial mandarins, who were least concerned to protect the interests of the provinces they administered, resented the inroads made by Peking on their treasuries which, *pro tanto*, diminished their own opportunities of enrichment.

Strangely enough, it was in connexion with the loans raised for railway construction that the feud between Peking and the provinces waxed fiercest. The railways, like the mining concessions granted by Peking to foreign financiers, were resented by provincial patriotism on the two-fold ground that they imported dangerous rights of foreign interference into the provinces, and deprived the local gentry of the pickings afforded by such important financial enterprises, of which Peking seemed bent on reserving the complete monopoly. It was a railway quarrel of this kind which, early in September last, kindled in Szechuan the first spark of the great conflagration. The Chengtu Railway League, which had been formed for the defence of Szechuan interests in this matter, assumed an attitude of uncompromising opposition, to which Peking replied by issuing an edict ordering the Governor, Chao Erh-feng, to crush resistance.

A popular demonstration ensued against the Governor's yamen, which led to considerable bloodshed; and to restore order in Szechuan the troops, upon whose loyalty Peking thought it could most surely reckon, were despatched from Wuchang. It was their withdrawal that left the three cities of the Middle Yangtsze at the mercy of the revolutionary movement which broke out there a little later.

No doubt the hands into which the power of the Throne passed on the death of the old Dowager were exceptionally feeble. Of the ex-Regent himself very little is known. He has been credited with an amiable disposition and with excellent intentions, to which, if he entertained them, he certainly never gave much effect. But his authority, even within the Forbidden City, was from the first precarious, as he was confronted with the hostility of the powerful Yehonala faction headed by the infant Emperor's mother; while the pious duty which he felt he owed to the memory of his brother, the Emperor Kuang Hsü, compelled him to forgo the services of the only statesman who stood out from the ruck of Chinese mandarins of the old school. He had to avenge the wrongs which Kuang Hsü had suffered at Yuan Shih-k'ai's hands; and, when the latter was driven out of Peking in disgrace, there was none to take his post. The Peking yamens continued to swarm with Highnesses and Excellencies, but amongst them there were few who were not either dangerous intriguers or useless nonentities. The Central Government became a byword throughout the Empire, whilst all the forces, new and old, which made for disintegration acquired fresh energy.

No little responsibility for the subsequent disaster must rest upon the representatives of international finance at Peking, who, exploiting the impotence of China, alternately fought and combined to thrust their loans upon her, and in their eagerness to secure the immediate profits of flotation were prepared at the same time to relax more and more the guarantees which could alone have safeguarded the honest administration and expenditure of the moneys poured into the Chinese Treasury. The causes of the present explosion in China have been many and various; but, as in other eastern countries, scarcely anything has been more mischievous than the facilities

which European credit has given to extravagant borrowing propensities, with little or no forethought for the real interests of the debtor. The penetration of China by railways constructed, owned and controlled by foreign agencies was rightly regarded a few years ago as a serious menace to the integrity of China; but, when one looks back upon the course of events during the last decade and the stimulus given to disruptive jealousies within the Empire by railway concessions which were supposed at any rate to safeguard Chinese sovereignty, it would seem as if the insidious ascendancy of cosmopolitan finance has been fraught with even more disastrous consequences to China than the undisguised ambitions of her neighbours.

Can any change in the form of government be expected to eradicate the fundamental antagonism between the provinces and the Central Government? Can it, above all, bring any relief to the financial stringency which has of late years intensified that antagonism? On the contrary, if a new and stable order of things is to be evolved out of the present chaos, is it not imperative that the Central Government should exercise a much more direct control than in the past over provincial administrations, and not least in the matter of finance? The revolution will not have lightened the burden of Chinese indebtedness. Indeed, the task of restoring order, of disbanding peacefully the armed forces which both parties have put into the field, of initiating any far-reaching measures of reform, must involve fresh and heavy expenditure. The revolt of the provinces has on this occasion assumed an anti-Manchu form, because the Manchus have hitherto been identified with the Central Government. Will the provinces be prepared to accept the control of a Central Government more cheerfully merely because it bears the Republican instead of the Manchu label? No doubt the natural resources of China are immense, and even existing taxation would yield far larger results in the hands of an honest and more efficient administration. Amongst those who are, for the moment, on the crest of the revolutionary wave there are, doubtless, some men of upright character who are patriotically desirous of introducing into the administration a new spirit of honesty and new methods of efficiency. But not all of them can be credited



even with good intentions ; and, if they could, where are the materials with which they are to work ? Nor can individual honesty and efficiency of themselves suffice. Discipline and respect for authority are at least equally indispensable ; and in these, unfortunately, Young China is scarcely likely to excel. So, at least, we are forced to conclude from the temper that prevails in the Press, and still more in the schools in which the new generation is being trained to service, and from the prominence of the bomb-thrower and the political bravo at every stage of the revolutionary movement. Was it not by the man who but a few weeks earlier had attempted the life of the ex-Regent that Sun Yat-sen himself consented to be sworn in when elected to the Presidency at Nanking ?

The onlooker is supposed to see most of the game ; but in this case, it is clear, even the Japanese onlooker is sorely perplexed. The Chinese reform movement enjoyed from the very first the active sympathy of many influential Japanese. The number of young Chinese who have studied in Japan, and, returning to their own country often with advanced views, have plunged into the fray, must be reckoned in thousands. Since the outbreak of the Revolution not a few Japanese have been called into the inner councils of the revolutionary party. At Nanking Sun Yat-sen's *entourage* includes such men as Mr Terao, once a professor of the Tokio University, Mr Soyejima, a follower of Count Okuma, and Mr Haraguchi, a well-known engineer, who has been connected with railway enterprise in China. Sun Yat-sen himself has lived a good deal in Japan, and has great admiration for the Japanese ; while Yuan Shih-k'ai has long had intimate friends in Japan. The future of China is a problem of vast interest to the whole world, but to Japan it is a problem of absolutely vital interest. Many responsible Japanese view the establishment of a Chinese Republic with disfavour, and dread the contagion of revolution. No country, on the other hand, suffers so much commercially from the continuance of disorders which paralyse one of the chief markets of Japanese industry ; and from that point of view any régime calculated to restore order should be acceptable to the Japanese. Whether the Japanese can be expected sincerely to desire the transformation of China, under whatsoever régime, into a power-

ful and well-organised State is a further question. For the political ascendancy which Japan now enjoys in the Far East would obviously in that event be, to say the least, gravely jeopardised.

In these circumstances, one can hardly be surprised that Japanese influence should appear at times to pull in opposite directions, and that the Japanese Government itself should have seemed disposed at first to go to considerable lengths in supporting the Throne, and at a later stage should have been perhaps unduly anxious to right itself with the powers that be at Nanking. But in all essentials Tokio has abided throughout by its expressed determination to act in complete accord with the British Government. That Government, in its turn, singularly well-served in the crisis by our Minister in Peking, Sir John Jordan, whose wise sympathy and intimate knowledge of China command the confidence and respect of all parties, has steadfastly maintained an attitude of complete neutrality without unfriendliness. To non-intervention all the Powers have indeed pledged themselves. But let us give credit where credit is due. A less prudent Government than that of Tokio might have been sorely tempted to use China's necessity for the extension or the consolidation of the Japanese position in Manchuria and elsewhere. To the statesmanlike self-restraint of Japan the world owes therefore a considerable debt of gratitude, for any one-sided attempt at intervention would have rendered the intervention of other Powers almost inevitable; and the one really hopeful feature of the present situation is that, so far, foreign intervention has been kept within the narrowest possible bounds. It is no little gain that the destructive work of a great revolution should have been carried through in such a country as China without provoking grave international complications. But the work of reconstruction has yet to come. The first phase of the revolution which Prince Ito foresaw three years ago is now consummated, but it is as hard to-day as he found it then to see any definite indication of the constructive forces which China needs if this phase is not to be merely the prologue to a long-drawn and perilous drama.

VALENTINE CHIROL.

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### Art. 13.—THE COAL STRIKE.

THE origin of the present struggle in the Coal Trade is to be found in the strike which occurred at the Cambrian Combine Collieries in the winter of 1910. In 1909 a seam of coal, known as the Upper 5ft. Seam, was being worked at the Ely Pit on day-work; and in December of that year the owners gave notice to the workmen that they wished a tonnage price fixed for the working of this seam. The owners and the men being unable to agree on a rate, the matter was referred to the Conciliation Board, it being the practice in Wales that when a colliery company is unable to agree upon a price with the workmen for the hewing of coal, or for any general rates of wages, the matter in dispute is referred to the Conciliation Board, who appoint two representatives of the owners and men to consider the merits of the case. The Conciliation Board, for the purpose of settling this dispute, appointed two referees; but after long negotiations they failed to come to an agreement, and in December 1910 a strike began.

Mr D. A. Thomas, the Managing Director of the Cambrian Combine Collieries, despite his recognised ability, is generally regarded as one of the extreme men; but in my opinion this is very far from being the truth. Had Mr Thomas not been a member of the South Wales Conciliation Board, the strike would probably not have taken place. When the referees appointed to consider the dispute at the Ely Pit failed to agree, he offered to refer the whole matter to the consideration of an impartial arbitrator; but, as arbitration is not provided for under the rules of the Board, and as the general body of owners are opposed to that method, they refused to adopt his suggestion. This refusal was prohibitive, for under the rules of the Board an owner is precluded from making any agreement with his men unless the same is approved by the members; consequently, in the case of the Cambrian dispute, Mr Thomas was not allowed to effect a settlement, which he would doubtless have done if he had had a free hand. Hence the strike.

As to the points ostensibly in dispute at the Ely Pit, I have no doubt that the men were misled, and that the

real object of the movement was not economic but revolutionary. The Strike Committee issued a statement that the rates offered by the owners of the Ely Pit would only yield the men a 'starvation wage'; but the actual average earnings of all colliers at the coal-face one month after the mine re-started work were 9s. a day. The demand was forced on by the extreme men, who are also the younger, among the leaders or agents. The fact is that there are too many of these, and this is one of the chief sources of trouble in South Wales. In this coal-field, which produces less than one-sixth of the total output of coal in the United Kingdom, there are no less than forty Miners' Agents, besides a small army of other officials. These officials have to justify their existence; they fall out amongst themselves; and during the last two years a general attack has been made by the younger upon the older leaders. I am acquainted with many of these agents; and, writing quite impartially, I believe no men have been better served than have the Welsh miners by their old leaders, who fully recognised that the proposals put forward by the extreme party were economically impossible. On the other hand, the old leaders, having been displaced by the extreme socialists, now refuse to allow the latter to modify their programme; consequently for some time past an active dispute has raged between the two sections, and the extremists have gradually been getting the upper hand.

This process, it must be confessed, has been fostered by certain changes on the owners' side. During recent years many Combines, Trusts and Amalgamations have been formed in South Wales. This has been done for financial purposes purely; and I look upon such developments with the greatest possible alarm. We live in an epoch when industry is carried on by large limited companies; and this has certain unhappy results, for the old friendly and intimate relations, which formerly existed between masters and men, have to a great extent passed away. Every amalgamation and combine accentuates this difficulty, for it is impossible in these large concerns to maintain any personal relationship between employers and their workmen. From the men's standpoint it may be argued that the owners acted unjustly in locking out the men working at the other

seams in the Ely Pit, for notice was given, not only to the men working in the Upper 5ft. Seam where the dispute arose, but also to all men working in other seams in the pit. This raises a general question of principle, which has for years past been the subject of constant conflict between owners and men. The men argue that it is unreasonable that owners should lock out men with whom there is no dispute. To this the owners reply that, if there is a wage-dispute with two hundred out of a thousand men, and it is confined to the smaller number, then they (the owners) have no means of bringing about a settlement; for the two hundred men, if they go out on strike, can easily be supported by the funds of the Federation, whereas, if the whole thousand are out and the Federation has to support them, their natural desire is to effect a speedy settlement. Further, the owners contend that, if the men insist on collective bargaining, they must be regarded as subject to collective treatment; the general lock-out is only the counterpart of the 'sympathetic' strike. On the other side, it should be remembered that in South Wales, when a strike or lock-out takes place, the owners of a mine are entitled to receive a subsidy from the owners' fighting fund, while the men are supported by their Federation. By these arrangements the incentive to either party to arrive at a speedy settlement is largely taken away.

I have written at some length about the South Wales dispute because of its far-reaching consequences. During the strike the Welsh socialist party sent delegates into all the mining centres of the United Kingdom to address meetings of English and Scottish miners. These delegates endeavoured to enlist the sympathies of the miners on the ground that the price-list offered at the Ely Pit was one which would only enable the men to earn 'starvation wages,' and that the lock-out was a brutal attack of capital upon labour. The leaders of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain strongly resented the action of these Welsh emissaries, who openly flouted the Councils of the different Mining Associations, and held meetings denouncing not only the South Wales employers but also the English Federation leaders. Strenuous efforts were now made to bring about a general strike, ostensibly to

settle the Ely price-list; but the leaders of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain were strong enough to resist the attacks made on them. Finally, the insulting treatment meted out by the Welshmen to Messrs Ashton and Harvey, who were sent to Tonypandy by the Federation as its representatives, resulted in the Federation withdrawing its financial support, whereupon the strike collapsed. Mr Ashton, the General Secretary of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, is one of the most able and conscientious men in the Trades Union movement. He holds a unique position, inasmuch as he not only has the complete confidence of the English miners, but is also respected and esteemed by the coal-owners, who recognise that his integrity of purpose and good faith are undoubted. A quiet and reserved man, he exerts a great influence over the Federation; and when on January 24, 1911, he issued a circular to the Federation miners stating that 'there are a number of men in South Wales who do not want a settlement of the strike at the Combine Collieries,' the revolutionary party recognised that the game was up.

The seeds sown by the Welshmen in the Federated area during the dispute, however, now bore fruit; and at the Southport Conference of Miners' Delegates in October, 1911, a claim was put forward for a minimum wage. Hitherto no general demand for such a concession had been laid before the owners in the Federated area, although it had been claimed that where, owing to bad management or abnormal places, a man failed to earn a day's wage, his remuneration should be made up to the district rate of wage. At the Southport Conference this limited demand was superseded by that for a minimum wage all round. The following resolution was submitted by the Executive and passed unanimously:

'That the Federation take immediate steps to secure an individual minimum wage for all men and boys working in mines in the area of the Federation, without any reference to the working places being abnormal. In the event of the employers refusing to agree to this, the 21st rule to be put into operation to demand assent.'

It was further agreed that the delegates should report to a second Conference on November 14 the result of

their negotiations with the employers. On November 14 the district delegates reported their failure to arrive at a settlement. Thereupon a number of delegates urged that all further negotiations with the employers should be broken off. The Conference on this motion divided, when 336,000 votes were cast for further negotiations, and 238,000 votes against. The Conference then adjourned to December 20. At a special Conference held on December 21 it was resolved that a ballot be taken on January 10-12, 1912; and that the question to be voted on should be—'Are you in favour of giving notice to establish the principle of a minimum wage for every man and boy working in the mines of Great Britain?' It was further resolved:

'That each district send to Mr Ashton a tabulated statement of what it desires to be its minimum wage, and that the Executive Committee of the Federation meet to consider the statements and report to a National Conference to be held in Birmingham on January 18, 1912.'

At the Birmingham Conference the result of the ballot was declared: for giving notice, 445,801; against, 115,721; majority, 330,080. South Wales returned the high majority of 85,107 in favour of a stoppage, far exceeding that given in any other coalfield. The district delegates then submitted the minimum rates approved by their respective associations, but these the Executive refused to sanction. On February 2, after a stormy meeting, the Conference approved the following schedule.

	Original District Demand.	Revised Rate.
	s. d.	s. d.
Yorkshire . . . . .	8 0	7 6
Lancashire . . . . .	7 0	7 0
Midlands . . . . .	5 6 to 7s. 1½d.	6 0 to 7s. 0d.
Derbyshire . . . . .	8 0	7 1½ to 7s. 6d.
Nottinghamshire . . . . .	8 0	7 6
North Wales . . . . .	7 0	6 0
Leicestershire . . . . .	7 2	7 2
South Derbyshire . . . . .	6 0 to 7s. 6d.	6 6
Somersetshire . . . . .	6 0	4 11
Bristol . . . . .	6 0	4 11
Cumberland . . . . .	6 6	6 6
Scotland . . . . .	6 0	6 0
South Wales . . . . .	8 0	7 1½ to 7s. 6d.
Northumberland . . . . .	6 0 to 6s. 9d.	6 0 to 7s. 2d.
Durham . . . . .	6 1½	6 1½
Forest of Dean . . . . .	6 0	5 10
Cleveland . . . . .	6 0	5 10



At a meeting of coal-owners held on February 7 the Welsh owners refused to discuss the question of a minimum wage and retired from the conference; and a strike then became inevitable, for the miners had definitely made up their minds to fight unless a settlement was arrived at in every district. It is not my intention to deal with the long and tedious negotiations that followed. The Government have been blamed in many quarters for not having taken action before February 22 with the object of effecting a settlement, but, since a section of the owners and many of the men had determined to fight, Government intervention was bound to be abortive. As to the merits of the dispute, it is only fair to say that, generally speaking, the majority of owners, where abnormal places have been met with in the mines, have treated their men fairly; but a considerable minority have not done so. This same minority have, during all the recent negotiations, adopted an irreconcilable attitude towards every proposal to improve the conditions of the men. I cannot too strongly press the point that the responsibility for the strike in the English area rests mainly on the owners of this class. They have persistently refused to pay men a fair day's wage for a fair day's work; and it is not to be wondered at that the men at last revolted against this unfair treatment. Though the relations between the English employers and their men have as a rule been fairly satisfactory during recent years, on the other hand there has been much unrest in mining districts owing to the reduction of earnings by the Eight Hours Bill, the refusal of some owners to meet the admitted grievance of men working in abnormal places, bad management of mines, increased cost of living, and the rise in house-rents. The two last-named causes appear to be largely due to the fact that the world's production of gold has increased by 50 per cent. during the past ten years, and now amounts to 95,000,000*l.* per annum. When a change in the value of the currency takes place, whether by way of appreciation or depreciation in the value of gold, wages do not move so rapidly as prices. Thus, when a depreciation of gold occurs, workmen naturally suffer, together with all classes of people who live on fixed incomes.

On the general merits of the question, whether a minimum wage is a just demand or not, I hold the view

that, wherever the physical conditions under which work is done are of necessity—as in the case in coal-mines—constantly changing, men who have done a fair day's work are entitled, whatever their output, to look for a fair day's remuneration. This general consideration derives additional strength from the fact that in the mines, on an average, over four men are killed and 500 injured daily. A man's labour is his capital; and he is entitled, when he embarks his capital in a dangerous undertaking, to look for a higher remuneration than a man employed where there is no risk to life or limb. Now the owners do not openly dispute the general proposition that a man who has done a fair day's work shall receive a fair day's wage, but they have never put forward any proposals to ensure this object. Nor is the owners' contention, that the men will not do a fair day's work if they are paid a minimum wage, justified by facts, so far as our limited experience of its application goes. In many price-lists to-day the men are entitled to a minimum wage if, through no fault of their own, they fail to earn wages. Many of the largest companies in the county of Derby have worked under this arrangement for some time past; and, if the stallmen do not earn wages on contract (piece-work), they are paid 7s. 6d. a day. In the Leen Valley of Nottinghamshire 8s. 3d. per day has been paid as a minimum for years past, and in other parts of the county 7s. 6d. per day. All over Warwickshire a minimum has been paid for many years past, as also in other districts. And yet in these districts there is no complaint that the output of coal has been diminished by this system of payment.

Again, it is often said that the profits of coal-mining are so small a percentage on the capital employed that the contemplated rise of wages would reduce them below the level at which capital would be attracted to the industry. It is important, therefore, to see what the profits are, and into whose hands they go. In 1909 the gross profits from coal-mines were 15,000,000l.; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer has said that about 6,000,000l. of royalties (and wayleaves) are included in this sum. This leaves a gross profit of 9,000,000l. which, on an output of 260,000,000 tons yielded approximately 8½d. per ton. This profit, however, is not net profit, for no

deduction is made by the Income Tax Commissioners in respect of depreciation of leases. When the minerals in a mine are exhausted, the capital is gone; and, generally speaking, in order to provide a redemption fund to wipe out the capital account, from 1½d. to 2d. per ton has to be charged against working costs for this purpose. It will thus be seen that the landlords, as royalty owners, receive nearly as much from the working of the mines as the masters who provide all the capital and take the risks.

But here we should discriminate. Whatever may be said for or against the right to royalties, the claim to wayleaves is far less defensible. In 1889 a Royal Commission was appointed to enquire into the subject of mining royalties and wayleaves. In 1891 the Commissioners presented a valuable Report to Parliament, recommending certain drastic changes, particularly in respect to wayleaves. Though mining is now the largest industry in Great Britain, this Report has never even been considered by Parliament. We hear in these days a great deal about the rights of property, but there is no country in the world which confers on the owners of property such right to blackmail an industry as are possessed by them in this. 'Blackmail' is not a nice word, but I submit the facts wholly justify its use. An owner of a few acres of minerals leases his coal for, say, a royalty of 6d. per ton. After he has been paid in full for his own coal, he nevertheless insists that every ton of other coal conveyed through the underground workings—from which his own coal has already been worked—shall pay him a wayleave for the exercise of this privilege. Immense sums of money are annually paid by colliery companies to owners of land for the right to exercise this so-called 'privilege,' which occasions the landlord neither damage, loss, nor the remotest inconvenience. A landlord who owns a few scattered acres of minerals can render the working of a mine absolutely impossible by prohibiting coal being brought through his property, for, the law having placed him in this favoured position, he is able to make his own terms or stop the mine. Many owners avail themselves of their legal right, a right which Continental countries abolished many years ago in the interests of 'commerce.' These wayleave rents

are a direct tax on the industry. The public complain of the high price of coal, and blame the miners for asking for improved conditions, yet against this scandal of legal blackmail hardly a word is said. In many cases the amount paid by colliery companies for wayleaves would exceed the additional cost of paying their men a minimum wage.

The question is often asked, What would be the cost entailed by the granting of the minimum wage? This naturally depends on the amount of the minimum. In many districts the cost will be nothing, for, as I have already shown, many men before the strike took place were working on a minimum wage system. In other districts, where wages are low, the cost will undoubtedly be increased; but, though it is impossible to give a trustworthy estimate till the figures are determined, I think it can be safely assumed—on the figures now under dispute—that the probable cost has been greatly overestimated. Such mistakes have been made before. When the Eight Hours Bill was before Parliament, we were told by the chief spokesman of the Mining Association of Great Britain that the additional cost would be 1s. 6d. per ton. In point of fact, practically the whole burden has fallen on the miners; and the additional cost incurred by the owners is extremely small. Taking all the pits of the United Kingdom together, I doubt whether the cost has been increased on an average by more than 1d. to 2d. per ton. During the passing of the Mines Bill\* through Committee stage last summer, we were told time after time that, if certain amendments to secure safety of life and limb were carried, the cost would be so excessive that the industry would be ruined. There is, however, no reason to believe that this will be the case. In badly-managed mines doubtless the cost of working will be increased, but, on the other hand, no owner has any right to object to safety legislation founded on the unanimous Report of a Royal Commission consisting of owners and men. The owners have so often cried 'Wolf' that even the House of Commons is coming to perceive the exaggeration of their statements.

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\* The regulations to ensure safety of working and other improvements in the conditions of work, contained in this Act, will come into operation on June 30 of the present year.

Further, there can be little doubt that the profits actually made might be largely increased by better management. Speaking generally, I am sure (though there are numerous exceptions) that less intelligence is brought to bear on the management of mines than on most other industries. In Scotland, as was pointed out in the Report of the Royal Commission on mines, the officials are paid even lower wages than the miners. Many managers receive miserable salaries varying from 150*l.* to 200*l.* a year; and even the salaries paid to some of the managers of the largest mines are wholly inadequate for the responsibility and work involved. Moreover, while in most trades the proprietors have an intimate knowledge of the technical management of their concerns, this is certainly not the case with mines. I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that 95 per cent. of the owners have no technical knowledge whatever of the management of mines.

Finally, there is the question of safeguards against malingering and other causes within the men's control, tending to reduce output and thus render the enforcement of a minimum wage unfair to employers. The Government have left the provision of such safeguards to the District Boards, but it is to be noted that the men's representatives have shown themselves conscious of the necessity of some such provisions. In February last the owners in the old Federated area and the Miners' Federation appointed five representatives each as a committee to consider the question, with a view to ensuring that the owners should receive a fair day's work for a fair day's wage. The men agreed to the following safeguards.

- (a) 'If a man is informed at any part of the day that there has been a breakdown of machinery or fall of roof, and he cannot continue at work as tubs cannot be supplied to him, he shall only be entitled to that proportion of the minimum wage which the time he was at work bears to the total period of his full time in the shift.
- (b) 'In case of any accident or breakdown in the shaft which would prevent the further output of fuel in that shift, and the workman is informed of it, he shall be entitled only to the proportion of the daily minimum wage up to the time in relation to the total

period of the shift when he was informed that coal-winding during the shift was stopped.

- (c) 'If from shortness of wagons on the surface it becomes necessary to knock off at an earlier hour than that at which the shift would ordinarily terminate, e.g. one-half or three-quarters of a shift, and the men are informed of the same, he shall only be entitled to the minimum wage for the one-half or three-quarters. The time to be taken on the men reaching the bank.
- (d) 'That the exceptions from the arrangements as to the minimum wage shall extend to men incapacitated by age or infirmity, and also to men who do not attend some agreed percentage of the time the pit works each week, unless prevented by sickness or accident, provided the owners also shall agree to find each man attending the same percentage of work.
- (e) 'That an agreed number of trams shall be recognised as the measure of the work which shall be sent out of each stall working under normal conditions in proportion to the number of men working in each stall.'

In my opinion these proposals for safeguarding the owners' interests were adequate and reasonable.

As a measure for stopping the strike, the Government have now carried through legislation laying down the general principle of a minimum wage, and setting up District Boards in the different coal-fields of the United Kingdom. The new Act is based on the principle of differentiation between districts, and between groups of mines in any one district; the Government opinion being that, owing to varying conditions, any uniform wage would operate adversely on the owners of the poorer mines. In point of fact *there is no real minimum wage under the Act at all*, for the minima vary according to the character of the mine. The owners and men will be represented on the District Boards in equal numbers; but it is unlikely that the two parties will be able to arrive at any agreement as to the amount of the minimum wage to be paid to the various classes of workmen. If this turns out to be the case, the independent chairman becomes an arbitrator.

As a result of the Stockport and Birmingham conferences, the miners put forward a schedule of minimum

rates (see above, p. 558) for the various districts, and pressed for their insertion in the Bill. It was, of course, impossible for any self-respecting Government to accept these rates without enquiry or investigation, still less to embody the same in an Act of Parliament. The schedule rates submitted by the miners were approximately the average day-wage rates paid to stallmen called out of the face to work on the roads at present prevailing in the different coal-fields, though in some instances the schedule rates were higher than the existing rates. It is clear that the Miners' Federation were misled in connexion with these schedule rates. The resolution of the Federation was to the effect that the average district rates in force before the strike should be the schedule minimum rates; but some districts, without the knowledge of the Federation, put in rates which, after examination, were shown to be higher than the existing rates.

The miners were fully aware that, if a minimum district wage were established in the various coal-fields, certain of the old mines where the men are paid at a very low rate would have to be closed. I firmly hold the belief that the Ricardian theory of rent applies to mines, and that the rent and profits of all mines necessary to meet the needs of the community are determined by the lowest-grade mines. The miners do not trouble their heads about doctrines of political economy, but they have, in a roundabout way, arrived at Ricardo's theory. They appreciate the fact that, if wages are to be reduced to such a point as will enable the lowest-grade mines to pay, the standard of living all round must necessarily be low; and they shape their course accordingly. The same principle applies to other trades. No one would pretend that a badly-equipped cloth or linen factory, with out-of-date machinery, should form the standard by which the wages of men engaged in those particular industries should be determined. In these days of keen commercial rivalry, no one can successfully compete in the markets of the world with an antiquated plant; and the employer who neglects his business, or produces uneconomically, has eventually to withdraw from the trade.

The mine-owners contend that, in order to enable them to work inferior mines, they must have cheap labour irrespective of the cost of living; and the Act in effect



concedes this vicious principle, for, since owners of old and badly-managed mines are to be allowed to work such mines with cheap labour, the tendency must be to reduce the general standard of living of the men employed in the industry. Under the Act the District Boards must take into consideration the circumstances of each mine, with the result that the old, badly-equipped and badly-managed mines will have the advantage of a low rate of wage. The difference between good management and indifferent management of mines means, even where the natural conditions are equal, that the owners of the well-managed mines make substantial profits, and their men earn good wages, while the owners of the indifferently-managed mines actually incur losses and their men earn low wages. I know of numerous cases where the conditions in mines contiguous to each other are very similar, yet the results, chiefly due to management, are astonishingly different. The Act in effect gives a subsidy to the owners of the badly-managed mines, for the independent chairmen of the District Boards can only group mines by the results of working.

The 'special minimum rate' provided for in the Act (§ 4) is, moreover, fair neither to owners nor men, for an owner who starves his property and spends all his profits is permitted to pay a lower minimum rate of wage than another who may spend half his income on improving and maintaining his mine in a high state of efficiency. Especially is this an injustice on the workman, for in a well-managed mine the men get good clearance of the coal gotten. In the badly-equipped mine the reverse is the case; and low wages are paid, because the men are unable, through bad roads, shortness of tubs, out-of-date haulage, etc., to get clearance; for it must always be remembered that hewers of coal are invariably paid on the tonnage of minerals gotten. Doubtless the chairmen of the District Boards will have to face this problem of the badly-managed mine; and it is to be hoped that they will refuse to grant low group rates unless they are satisfied that the natural conditions of the mines justify a lower minimum.

I am unable to see how this provision of the Act can be defended; but feeling in the House of Commons is overwhelmingly in favour of the principle, on the ground

that injustice would be done to the men who would be thrown out of employment if the mines were closed. Parliament is thus protecting the men in the old mines against themselves. Owing to the great development in the coal-fields of this country, I have no doubt that the men who may be displaced by the closing of old mines will readily find employment in the new; and I am confident that no reduction of output, on the whole, and very little, if any, consequent increase of cost, will be occasioned by this closing of old mines and the operation of a minimum wage, because the men transferred from the old pits to the new will produce, under better conditions, a larger output than before.

Against this contention it is urged that it is unjust that an Act of Parliament should inflict injury on a local community by destroying the trade on which such a community exists. But, after all, it is by no means clear that these old mines *will* be closed, for, if a certain quantity of coal is necessary to meet the needs of the community, and the cost of producing coal is artificially increased by Act of Parliament, it follows—in a protected market such as ours practically is—that the increased cost will eventually be borne by the consumer and not by the producer. It is astonishing in these days that the ordinary man of business still clings to the old eighteenth century fallacy that supply and demand regulate prices, whereas it is primarily the cost of production, in conjunction with supply and demand as secondary factors, which determines the prices of all commodities. If, owing to the introduction of a labour-saving machine, the cost of producing a commodity is diminished, the price will ultimately fall in direct proportion to the reduction of cost effected by the machine, though the demand may be increased tenfold, supposing the wages paid to the labourer to remain the same.

In this country over one million persons are engaged in mining. Owing to the prolific bounty of Nature in these islands there are no mines in the world, except perhaps in America, where the natural conditions are so favourable for producing a high-class quality of coal at a low cost. In the home market there is, of course, no foreign competition. American coal can be produced at a considerably lower cost than in this country, but the

American mines are at the disadvantage of being situated some 300 miles from the ports. The quality of coal produced from some of the Virginian mines is nearly equal to that of best South Welsh coal, but the fiscal system of the United States prevents her being a serious competitor with us, even in the South American markets. The American who ships coal to South America is unable to get a cargo for his ship on the homeward passage and consequently has to return in water ballast, while British ships carrying coal to South American ports obtain remunerative homeward-bound freights of corn, meat and other produce. For these reasons the rates for carrying coal from British to South American ports are invariably less than those ruling from Virginian to South American ports.

The total production of coal in Great Britain in 1910 was 264,000,000 tons. Of this total, 180,000,000 tons were used for home consumption, 62,000,000 tons were exported, and 22,000,000 tons were used for bunker purposes. The average selling price of the 264,000,000 tons at the pit's mouth was approximately 8s.; and this price yielded the owners of mines a fair margin of profit. The owners contend that, if the cost of producing coal is increased, the export trade will be diminished, and injury will be inflicted on the general trade of the country, particularly on the iron trade. Doubtless this would occur if the cost were unduly inflated; but I contend—having an intimate knowledge of mining conditions in many of the coal-fields of the United Kingdom—that the extra cost occasioned by paying a minimum wage will be comparatively small. Considering the large fluctuations that take place from year to year in the selling price of coal, it is to my mind ridiculous to suppose that even an average increase of from 2*d.* to 3*d.* per ton—which would be the maximum—could injure our industries or export trade under the extraordinarily favourable natural conditions we enjoy. It is the owners themselves who are in fault in this respect; for, whenever the demand is ahead of the supply, they do not hesitate to raise the price of coal, regardless whether trade is damaged or not.

When this strike is over, the coal-owners will exact from the consumer the utmost sum they can till the supply is again equal to the demand. It is already settled by the

owners that for contracts extending over the next year the merchants will have to pay an additional 2s. per ton. The coal-owners' reason for asking this increase is that they have to meet (1) the costs of insurance under the Insurance Act (calculated at  $\frac{1}{2}d.$  per ton), (2) additional expenses under the Mines Act, 1911 (say 1d. per ton), (3) those under the Minimum Wage Act (say  $2\frac{1}{2}d.$  per ton), and (4) the increase of wages (due to the agreement made in the old Federated area) to take place when the price of coal reaches 8s. per ton; this would mean an additional cost of 4d. to 5d. per ton. The whole additional cost will therefore not exceed 9d. per ton, leaving the owners a clear additional profit of 1s. 3d. per ton. The public will do well to remember this fact, for they have been told by the coal-owners that they have been fighting the battle of the poor consumer.

The selling price of coal at Continental mines varies from 13s. to 10s. per ton at the pit's mouth; and, generally speaking, this coal is of a quality far inferior to what is produced in this country at a much lower cost. It is true that in South Wales the cost of producing coal has largely increased; but in the main this is due to two causes: (1) the bad system of working, and (2) the ill-feeling which prevails between the owners and the men. If a round-table conference in South Wales could bring owners and men together, and if better methods of working could be mutually agreed on, there is no reason why the cost of producing coal in Wales should not be considerably lessened, with advantage to both parties.

The late Mr Toynbee very truly pointed out, in his work on 'The Industrial Revolution,' that the economists had invariably used the science of political economy as an argument against the claims of the workmen, and that in the main the economist had been wrong and the men had been right. Doubtless all economists will hold up their hands in horror at a Minimum Wage Act, and will assert that this is the beginning of the end. Surely it cannot be said that workmen are not entitled to withhold their labour, if they think fit to do so, in order to obtain better conditions from their employers. On the other hand, the State, having repealed the laws which rendered combinations of workmen illegal, and having placed Trades Unions in a privileged position in respect to their

funds, the nation may fairly claim that in trades and industries of public utility \* these privileged combinations shall not be permitted to inflict grievous injury upon it. In these trades the State cannot allow the owners and workmen to fight out their battles to a finish, for this would mean her own destruction. But it naturally follows that the State cannot withdraw the right of combination from any class of workmen unless State control, or at least State-regulated arbitration, is established in such industries. On the other hand, it is very doubtful whether the workmen in any large organised industry would consent to surrender their one weapon of defence in exchange for State-regulated arbitration as to wages. The system of compulsory arbitration enacted by law in Australia is hardly applicable to the enormous masses employed in mining and some other industries in this country.

The rates of 5s. and 2s., which the Prime Minister told the House of Commons he considered 'obviously just' and not excessive wages, were omitted from the Bill for fear that other trades might make demands which Parliament could not resist. Nevertheless it is a fact that, at an early stage in the recent negotiations, the Government made a definite offer to both miners and men to insert in the Minimum Wage Bill a clause under which the 5s. and 2s. rates should be settled by arbitration on a national basis. If the arbitrators had found that the 2s. and 5s. were, to use Mr Asquith's words, 'obviously just,' then these rates would have applied to every mine in the United Kingdom. Incredible though it may seem, the miners' leaders positively refused to entertain this proposal. Under the Minimum Wage Act the miners have now got far worse conditions than those which the Government actually offered their leaders, for not only is there no provision in the Act which secures the miner a reasonable minimum wage, but the District Boards have power to group old and badly-managed mines, and fix a special low minimum rate under which these mines shall be worked; whereas, if the miners' leaders had accepted the Government proposals, there is little doubt but that the rates of 5s. and 2s. would have been established in all

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\* I should define as trades of public utility those which in the main are of a monopoly character, such as railways, tramways, mines, gas and electric works.

the coal-fields of the United Kingdom. The fact that the Government made this offer has hitherto been kept secret; but it is only right that the miners and general public should be informed of the truth. As things are, the only instruction given to the District Boards is that they must have regard to the average daily wages paid in the district when fixing the minimum rates. It has been feared that this provision will tend to lower the output, by diminishing the incentive to the better worker to exert himself. This fear is, in my opinion, groundless.

It is idle to deny that the men have suffered defeat; but that defeat has been due mainly to mistakes and ignorance on the part of the leaders, and to a lack of subordination and unity of purpose on the part of the men. The ground of attack was ill-chosen; the men should have stuck to their original demand—the payment on account of abnormal prices or losses due to bad management. If, in addition to this, they had asked for an increase of wages equivalent to 10 per cent. on the basis rates, to meet the increased cost of living, they would have occupied strong ground; and, if they had won (as they probably would, for the demand would have been obviously just), every man would have benefited, whereas very few will derive any benefit from the Act. The great mass of men came out to obtain higher wages, and for no other reason; and when they voted for the formula ‘a minimum wage,’ nine-tenths of them did not know what they were voting for. Secondly, this great industrial army was led out to fight the employers after giving them three months’ notice of their intention to do so. From the point of view of the public this has doubtless been an enormous advantage; but, from the standpoint of the men, it is to me incomprehensible that the attack should have been made in such a manner. The miners and their leaders, in fact, entirely misconceived the position. The miners were told by some of their leaders that a national strike could not possibly continue for more than a week, and that a general strike was the panacea which would put a speedy end to all their grievances. They had, however, entirely lost sight, first, of the fact that the past winter was an exceptionally mild one; and, secondly, that, instead of working short time, as they would under normal conditions have done, the

pits were, owing to the fear of a strike, kept working to their utmost capacity, so that enormous reserves of coal were accumulated. The extreme men now say that, when the next general strike takes place, no notice will be given. Consumers of coal have already noted these observations, and will doubtless lay down much larger stocks of coal during the summer months than they have ever done before.

A general strike can never under any circumstances benefit the miners, while on the other hand it may benefit the owners, by causing a shortage of coal. High prices naturally follow; and many owners will, owing to this reason, soon make sufficient profit to wipe out the losses caused by keeping the mines open during the strike, while many men will be left penniless and impoverished. In these circumstances it is the poorest section of the community and the miners themselves who suffer most. A sectional strike, on the other hand, is very injurious and costly to employers, for they not only lose their markets, which are taken by their competitors, but their pits may lie idle for many months. The answer doubtless will be that the Welsh owners have a large fighting fund and can use it in the manner I have already described; but it must be borne in mind that, provided the miners act in a rational manner, the owners, whose interests are antagonistic to each other, will not continue to maintain solidarity, for those who possess good mines will not shut down their pits and incur losses in order to keep the old mines going. The owners have been forced to join hands in South Wales owing to companies which were outside the Coal-owners' Association being made the subject of special attack, which is madness from the point of view of the miners, because the result of such an attack is to drive the outside companies into the arms of the Association. An attempt has recently been made to form a general association of owners throughout all the coal-fields of the United Kingdom to resist the attacks of the Federation; but this attempt has not been successful, for many of the largest companies refused to combine. I have no doubt whatever that the sectional strike, which has been the weapon the miners have used in the past to improve their conditions of labour, will in the future again be their chief instrument; for, when judi-



ously handled, it is the weapon by which the workmen can most successfully fight their employers. The folly of a general strike must be manifest to all thinking men.

Passing my life as I do among miners, I know the great majority of them to be a brave, upright and God-fearing body of men ; and if they had but shown that subordination to and trust in their leaders, which is as necessary to an industrial organisation engaged in a great conflict as it is to an army in the field, the result to-day would be very different from what it is. In view of the great disparities of wealth on the one hand and poverty on the other—many men in some mines earning, through no fault of their own, only a few shillings a week, and under the stress of constant danger—those who know the mining class can but wish them well in their fight for a better share of the division of wealth. The fight has been in the main conducted against the ignorance and prejudice of the owners themselves. Such owners have from the commencement of this dispute failed to understand the economic law that any increase in the cost of production would not come entirely out of their pockets. Although on this occasion the men have been defeated, I am convinced that this is only the beginning of the struggle. If the Government and the public believe that, even after the passing of an inadequate Minimum Wage Act, men will continue to work in mines under the condition that the worst mines are to be taken as the basis of the standard of living, they are labouring under a delusion from which they will yet have a rude awakening.

Although I have found it necessary, in the course of this paper, to criticise the Minimum Wage Act somewhat severely, I cannot conclude without paying due praise to the manner in which the Prime Minister handled a very difficult problem. He displayed exemplary patience and persistency throughout the prolonged negotiations, and an astonishing grasp of the conditions with which he had to deal. He stood firm against severe pressure and behaved fairly to both parties. That he earned the thanks of neither was only natural.

ARTHUR B. MARKHAM.

Art. 14.—THE CHURCH IN WALES.

1. *Report of the Royal Commission on the Church of England and other Religious Bodies in Wales and Monmouthshire.* Eight vols. London: Wyman, 1910.
2. *The Church and the Nation: Charges and Addresses.* By Mandell Creighton, sometime Bishop of London. London: Longmans, 1901.
3. *Visitation Charges.* By W. Stubbs, late Bishop of Oxford. London: Longmans, 1904.
4. *A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment.* By Roundell, Earl of Selbourne. Fifth Edition. London: Macmillan, 1911.
5. *The Religious Aspects of Disestablishment and Disendowment.* By Bishop Welldon, Dean of Manchester. London: Smith, Elder, 1911.
6. *The Case Against Welsh Disendowment.* By a Non-conformist Minister [Rev. J. Fovargue Bradley]. London: Pitman, 1911.
7. *The Welsh Disestablishment Bill: what it means.* By the Bishop of St David's. London: The Central Church Committee for Defence and Instruction, 1911.
8. *The Establishment and Extension of National Churches.* By Thomas Chalmers, D.D. Glasgow: Collins, 1838.

WELSH Disestablishment is a question of facts as well as of principles. In order to ascertain the facts a Royal Commission was appointed on June 21, 1906,

‘to enquire into the origin, nature, amount and application of the temporalities, endowments and other properties of the Church of England in Wales and Monmouthshire, and into the provision made and the work done by the Churches of all denominations in Wales and Monmouthshire for the spiritual welfare of the people and the extent to which the people avail themselves of such provision, and to report thereon.’

Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman said in the House of Commons on July 11, 1906, that ‘no enquiry by Royal Commission or otherwise was made into the condition and temporalities of the Established Church in Wales’ before the introduction of the Welsh Disestablishment Bills of 1894 and 1895; and he regarded that omission as unfortunate ‘because, owing to the absence of official

information on the questions which have now been submitted to a Royal Commission, the Government of the day were exposed to a good deal of embarrassment in the preparing and conduct of the measure.\* In appointing the Commission the Government had an eye on the conversion of English public opinion; at all events, Mr Lloyd George, addressing the Welsh National Convention at Cardiff on October 11, 1906, clearly anticipated a Report in favour of Disestablishment. 'The evidence and facts' (he remarked) 'collected and sifted carefully by the Royal Commission, they might depend upon it, would be accepted by English public opinion as more or less settling the dispute.'†

The first place in the terms of reference is assigned to the origin of Church endowments. The Chairman ruled that the historic legal origin of endowments was clearly included in the terms of reference (Q. 47133, 47169). Sir D. Brynmor Jones, the present Chairman of the Welsh parliamentary party, put several questions on the subject to two of the Welsh bishops,‡ and intimated that he might introduce paragraphs upon the origin of endowments into the Report (Q. 47141), but apparently he thought better of it afterwards, for all that is said in the Report is: 'We think that it is not our duty to attempt to perform the almost impossible and very controversial task of ascertaining the historic legal origin of Church property, which includes property of such ancient origin as glebe lands and tithes' (p. 7). This sentence could hardly have been forgotten by Sir D. Brynmor Jones when he told a representative of the Press, 'I signed the Chairman's report, of course, . . . because every sentence in it is true.'§ Nevertheless, it appears from Mr McKenna's speech on January 25 last that he proposes to rest his case for Welsh Disendowment upon the narrow basis of a novel theory of the late origin of tithe in Wales. His words were:

'I venture to say there is not the slightest evidence whatever that there was any tithe system in Wales until after the Welsh Church was absorbed into the English Church. Tithes

\* 'Hansard,' 4th series, vol. 160, p. 896.

† 'Western Mail,' October 12, 1906.

‡ Report, vol. iv, pp. 469-474, 497-499.

§ 'South Wales Daily News,' December 3, 1910.

did not exist in Wales until after their payment was imposed upon landowners as an obligation of law. Tithes in Wales were not the offspring of piety; they were the creation of law.' ('Daily News,' January 26, 1912).

Mr McKenna's theory is not based upon any evidence laid before the Royal Commission. No attempt was made to show before the Commission any distinction in origin between Church endowments in Wales and England. Mr McKenna has against him the pre-eminent authority of Bishop Stubbs, who said:

'The property of the Church has in great measure an immemorial title; and in the Welsh counties, I believe, one beyond the age of record, for the Christianity of Wales is, as I shall state by and by, the most ancient portion of the whole fabric of Church institution in these islands, and the property in the westernmost provinces far away the most ancient possession of the Church.' ('Visitation Charges,' p. 179.)

During the time of fusion, says Bishop Stubbs,

'Welsh Bishops attended court and council, were consecrated and made their profession at Canterbury, bringing with them into the one system of established Churchmanship possessions of lands, tithes, canons, customs and traditions which they had from an antiquity to which our oldest foundations cannot pretend' (ib. p. 201).

According to all recognised principles of equity, when it is proposed to take away property after long tenure on the ground of an allegation of defective title, the burden of proof always rests on the attacking party. Under the Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844 a prescriptive title of 25 years gives Nonconformist endowments full security irrespective of their origin. In face of the long prescriptive title which the Church in Wales has to its property, Mr McKenna must find some better reason for Welsh Disendowment than a mere assertion unsupported by the Report of the Royal Commission or by any historian of recognised authority.

Part II of the Majority Report (pp. 6-15) and Part II of the Memorandum of Archdeacon Evans and Lord Hugh Cecil (pp. 83-88) deal with the nature and amount of the endowments of benefices in Wales.\* In a pamphlet

\* Particulars of the nature and amount of these endowments, as laid before the Commission by Sir L. T. Dibdin, appear in Appendices A and B to

by the Bishop of St Davids, entitled 'The Welsh Disestablishment Bill; what it means,' the figures given in the Memorandum are brought up to the end of 1910 from the Reports of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty for that year, and include under parochial endowments both temporary curates' grants and endowments of curacies from private benefactions. We take the figures, which are all net figures, from this pamphlet, as they have not been challenged in controversy. The two tables on p. 578 show the nature, sources and net amount of all the endowments of the Church in Wales at the end of 1910.

The Common Fund of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners is derived from property formerly belonging to bishoprics and chapters in England and Wales. The net income of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from property in Wales is 33,759*l.* a year,\* of which 7493*l.* a year† is the income of property situated in Wales formerly belonging to English bishoprics and chapters, leaving 26,266*l.* a year as the income of property formerly belonging to Welsh bishoprics and chapters. The payment made by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners to Bishops, Deans and Chapters and Archdeacons in Wales is 29,760*l.*† a year, which is more by 3494*l.* a year than the revenue derived by the Commissioners from property formerly belonging to Welsh bishoprics and chapters. This deficit of 3494*l.* a year, with the payments which the Commissioners make to parochial incumbents and curates in Wales, comes from the English part of the Commissioners' property.

The Bounty Fund administered by the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty is derived from First Fruits and Tenths paid annually to the Bounty by Bishops and Clergy since 1704. Since the grants to Wales out of the Bounty Fund between 1704 and 1906, amounting to 487,350*l.*, are nearly three times the amount (*viz.*, 163,000*l.*) derived by the Fund from Wales, it follows that two-thirds of Bounty Endowments in Wales (or 18,626*l.* a year) come from English First Fruits and Tenths and one-third (or

the Report (vol. i, part 2, pp. 3-76); and in Sir Lewis Dibdin's evidence (vol. ii, pp. 267-274) an account is given of the property of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners in Wales and of the payments made by them to Diocesan and Cathedral officers and to unbeficled clergy in Wales.

\* Report, vol. i, p. 12.

† *Ib.* p. 86.

SOURCES OF ANNUAL INCOME FROM  
ENDOWMENTS.

NATURE OF ANNUAL INCOME FROM  
ENDOWMENTS.

DIOCESES.	Net Rent of Land.	Net Tythe Rent Charge.	Other Sources.	Total in 1910.	Total En- dowments left under Mr Asquith's Bill of 1909.	Endow- ments 'believed to have existed before 1703.'	Queen Anne's Bounty.		Eccle- siastical Commis- sioners.	'Private Benefactions since 1703.'
							Bounty Fund.	Parlia- mentary Grants.		
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
<b>Parochial Endowments.</b>										
Bangor. . . . .	3,277	20,833	10,426	34,536	4,254	19,601	3,265	992	6,424	4,254
Chester . . . . .	53	629	206	888	28	732	—	—	138	28
Hereford . . . . .	554	2,605	1,586	4,745	868	2,707	339	248	593	853
Lichfield . . . . .	69	—	64	133	51	—	44	21	17	51
Llandaff . . . . .	12,088	20,799	35,166	68,053	4,949	28,124	6,948	944	27,088	4,949
St Asaph . . . . .	4,079	33,201	12,897	50,177	4,057	29,404	1,934	566	14,156	4,057
St David's . . . . .	15,816	32,670	36,969	85,455	6,387	35,630	15,410	3,041	24,987	6,387
Total Parochial. . . . .	35,936	110,737	97,314	243,987	20,584	116,258	27,940	5,812	73,393	20,584
Diocesan . . . . .	—	—	29,760	29,760	Nil.	—	—	—	29,760	—
	35,936	110,737	127,074	273,747	20,584	116,258	27,940	5,812	103,153	20,584

9314*l.* a year) from Welsh First Fruits and Tenths. In view of the misleading prominence given by Mr McKenna to Parliamentary Grants through Queen Anne's Bounty to the Church in Wales as an argument for the 'national character' of Welsh Church endowments, it deserves notice that these grants amount only to 5812*l.* a year, and that similar grants were also made under the authority of the same Acts of Parliament to Nonconformist ministers. The only difference between these two sets of Parliamentary Grants which makes it possible—though not equitable—for the State to reclaim one set and not the other is that the grants to Queen Anne's Bounty for the Church in England and Wales were used as capital for permanent endowment, whereas the Nonconformist grants were used up in annual income grants. Through grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty, and through private benefactions, 127,729*l.* a year, or more than half the present amount of parochial endowments in Wales, was added since 1703; and the amount of endowments believed to have belonged to Welsh benefices prior to 1703 is 116,258*l.* a year, of which 91,865*l.* a year is tithe.

Under the Bill of 1909 the Church in Wales was to be deprived (subject to existing life interests) of 253,163*l.* a year, and to be left at the expiration of life interests with only 20,584*l.* a year for the maintenance of its ministry. This remnant represents only 1*s.* 6*d.* in the pound out of 273,747*l.* a year, which is the total amount of its existing endowments. The epithets 'cruel and monstrous' were justly applied to these proposals at the Representative Church Council last November by the Bishop of Oxford. Mr Ellis Griffith's plea that existing life interests mean a permanent re-endowment of the disestablished Church with 60,000*l.* a year is futile, for all the payments on account of existing life interests would not be more than sufficient to pay during their lifetime the present incomes of present incumbents, leaving no surplus for the re-endowment of the disestablished Church in Wales. Under the Bill of 1909, out of endowments from English sources at least 51,124*l.* a year was to be transferred from the Church in Wales to the Church in England—from the poorer to the richer dioceses—while at least 29,419*l.* a year was to be alienated



to Welsh secular objects. Under the Bill of 1909 also all grants from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty to the Church in Wales were, for the future, peremptorily prohibited (Section 18 (3)). Mr McKenna on January 25 last said: 'Through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty England has been generous to the Church in Wales to the extent of 60,000*l.* a year. If England wished to continue her generosity to her sister Church in Wales I do not think that anyone would desire to frustrate her benevolence.' The supporters of the Government in the Press have generally taken these words as an intimation that the original provisions of the Bill of 1909 in regard to endowments from English sources and the peremptory prohibition of future grants to the Church in Wales from the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and the Governors of Queen Anne's Bounty would not reappear in this year's Bill. Should that prove to be true, it will be interesting to learn what the Welsh Disestablishment party will say to a concession so unpalatable to them. A leader of the disendowers in Wales declared that the concession is meant to continue 'only as long as the Church in England would remain established; for on the disestablishment of the latter the whole position would be revised.'\* Should this be so, all that Mr McKenna's concession means is that the Church in Wales is to be disendowed at two strokes instead of one.

Whether that be the case or not, the Bill remains a Bill for the secularisation of religious endowments, the only difference being in the amount to be secularised. In the Bill of 1909, it was proposed to secularise 202,039*l.* a year out of Church endowments in Wales. In this year's Bill it is likely from Mr McKenna's forecast that the amount to be secularised will be 172,620*l.* He says 180,000*l.* a year. The wrong principle remains. It is only a difference of degree. His concession, moreover, lands Mr McKenna in new difficulties over his theory that Church property is 'national property.' Mr McKenna apparently proposes to leave to the Church in Wales endowments derived through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners from property formerly belonging to English bishoprics and

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\* 'South Wales Daily News,' January 30, 1912.

chapters, but proposes to secularise the ancient property of Welsh bishoprics and chapters. In the Bill of 1909 Church endowments in Wales derived from First Fruits and Tenths from clergy in England as well as from clergy in Wales were deemed to be 'national property' and secularised. In this year's Bill a distinction is to be drawn between the First Fruits and Tenths of English and Welsh clergy. The Church in Wales is to retain endowments derived from First Fruits and Tenths of English clergy, but to be deprived of endowments derived from payments made by Welsh clergy. The proposal of 1909 in regard to Bounty endowments was scandalous, but as modified by Mr McKenna's concession it becomes an absurdity as well as a scandal.

The third point—the application of Church endowments—is closely connected with the two remaining points specified in the Commission's terms of reference, 'the provision made and the work done for the spiritual welfare of the people by the Church in Wales.' The proposal of the Government for the secularisation of Church endowments in Wales cannot be justified upon any recognised principle of equity unless it can be conclusively shown that the object to which they have been continuously applied for centuries and are applied at the present time is contrary to the public weal, or that they are in excess of what this object requires, or that the trust attached to Church endowments in Wales is not faithfully discharged at the present time. Church property in Wales, as in England, is corporate trust property and is not 'national property,' 'except in the same sense in which all property is national property,' as Prof. Freeman pointed out years ago. This bedrock fact is rightly emphasised as the foundation of his whole argument in the Rev. J. F. Bradley's remarkably able and frank protest against the unrighteousness of Welsh Disendowment. His pamphlet, 'The Case against Welsh Disendowment,' is a valuable contribution to the discussion of this year's Bill. It is even a more valuable contribution to the good relations of Churchmen and Nonconformists that the author of this unanswerable plea for justice to the Church is a Congregational minister of strong Radical convictions in politics.

From another point of view, the aid of the great

Presbyterian, Dr Chalmers, may be appealed to with equal confidence. Dr Chalmers, in his lectures on National Churches, showed once for all, over seventy years ago, that no object can be more conducive to the public weal than the religious object for which Church endowments were originally given and to which they have been continuously applied up to the present time. No one has ever more eloquently insisted on the value to the State of an efficient parochial system of religious work and of the conditions of its efficiency than Dr Chalmers. The aim of the parochial system is to bring the Gospel to the homes of the people, especially to the homes of those who neglect attendance at public worship. In these days of growing indifference the value of the parochial system is as great as ever, for the only way to teach people the value of public worship is to minister to them in their homes. The principle of the parochial system is the principle of a universal home mission covering the whole country. Dr Chalmers saw clearly that the efficiency of the parochial system of religious work cannot be secured without endowments, for the law of supply and demand does not hold in things of the spirit and in things of the mind. The law of supply and demand is that people pay for what they desire. They will not pay for what they need till they are first taught without pay to desire what is necessary for them. This fact has been recognised years ago in elementary education. The cry that everyone should be made to pay for his own religion is a shallow cry, as contrary to sound reason as it is to the central missionary character of Christianity. Dr Chalmers, after his withdrawal from the Established Church of Scotland for conscience' sake and after all the great success with which he applied the voluntary principle to the Free Church of Scotland, said, near the end of his life, 'The longer I live the more firmly persuaded I am that the voluntary principle is utterly unfit to furnish a Christian people with the means of Christian instruction.' It is intolerable that the Government should single out the poorest part of the Church of England for the secularisation of Church endowments in the present economic and social condition of Wales. There is no part of the country, as the recent advance of Syndicalism in South Wales shows, where the

home-mission work of the parochial system of the Church is more indispensable than in the populous industrial parts of South Wales, where more than half the whole population of Wales is to be found at the present time. The statistical witness of the Calvinistic Methodists rightly admitted before the Royal Commission that, in this part of Wales, 'It would be a disaster to the whole of religion if any denomination were crippled in its resources' (Q. 24986).

The value of the parochial system is likewise great in the poor rural districts of Wales where the population is steadily decreasing. Welsh Nonconformists deserve all credit for the good work they have done and are doing for the spiritual welfare of the people of Wales; but, with all their efforts, the problem of adequately maintaining a resident ministry in country parishes is proving too great for the voluntary principle unaided to solve. It has been ascertained that in the dioceses of St Asaph and St David's about one-third of the parishes are without any resident Nonconformist minister; and in these parishes the parochial system of the Church is an advantage to Nonconformists as well as to Churchmen. In the light of the facts, the only question of equity to be asked is whether the Church in Wales is faithfully doing its work; and the Report of the Royal Commission proves conclusively that the Church in Wales, no less than in England, is faithfully endeavouring to fulfil the sacred trust attached to its insufficient endowments.

The Church in Wales will bear comparison with the general average standard of the whole Church in England and Wales together in the three recognised tests of Church activity, viz., the proportion to the population of the number of sittings in church, of Easter communicants, and of Sunday-school scholars. The official figures laid before the Commission show that in 1906 the proportion of sittings in Church to the total population in Wales is 22·8 per cent. as compared with 22 per cent. for the whole Church in England and Wales. The proportion in the diocese of St Asaph is 30 per cent. and in that of St David's 29 per cent. In the same year the proportion of Easter communicants in church to the total population in Wales was 6·63 per cent. as compared with 6·28 per

cent. for the whole Church in England and Wales. The proportion in the diocese of St David's was 8·68 per cent. and in that of St Asaph 8·64 per cent. The percentage of Church Sunday-school scholars for the same year to the total population in Wales was 8·33 per cent. as compared with 7·76 per cent. for the whole Church in England and Wales. The proportion in the diocese of St Asaph was 10 per cent. and in that of St David's 9·38 per cent. It will thus be seen that in these three important aspects of Church activity the Church in Wales stands slightly above the general average of the whole Church in England and Wales, while two of the four Welsh dioceses stand considerably above the general average of the whole Church. The Welsh part of the Church of England cannot therefore be singled out for the secularisation of religious endowments on account of its failure in work as compared with the Church of England as a whole.

The steady and striking progress of the work of the Church in Wales is a weighty fact in the consideration of the proposals of the Government for its disendowment. A comparison between the figures for 1906 laid before the Commission and the corresponding figures for 1831 shows very remarkable progress. The figures\* show that, whereas the population of Wales increased by 91 per cent., the increase of churches and mission-rooms was 71 per cent., that of resident parochial clergy 111 per cent., of parsonages 122 per cent., and of Sunday services 176 per cent. The amount expended out of voluntary contributions in the four Welsh dioceses upon the restoration and building of churches between 1840 and 1906 was 3,332,385*l.*, and shows steady progress, being on the average at an annual rate of 35,335*l.* between 1840 and 1874, 58,590*l.* between 1874 and 1892, and 79,407*l.* between 1892 and 1906.† The number of Easter communicants in the diocese of St Asaph increased from 7575 in 1871 to 24,938 in 1906, in that of Bangor (according to the Official Year Book) from 10,029 in 1885-6 to 16,760 in 1904-5, and in that of Llandaff from 33,453 in 1891-2 to 58,216 in 1904-5.‡ The number of Sunday-school scholars similarly increased in the diocese of St Asaph from 15,008

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\* Report, vol. i, p. 130.

† *Ib.* p. 58.

‡ *Ib.* p. 21.

in 1871 to 31,420 in 1907, and in that of Llandaff from 61,592 in 1896 to 75,819 in 1906.\* The figures for the diocese of St David's† show the following percentages of increase in the thirty years 1877-1906—as compared with an increase of 13·31 per cent. in the population of the diocese in the thirty years 1871-1901—viz., clergy 17·5, accommodation 23·6, Sunday services 54·0, three years' confirmations 82·7, Sunday-school scholars 91, communicants 139·6; while the triennial average of voluntary contributions increased by 47 per cent. between 1890-2 and 1903-5. The following analysis of the figures of progress in the case of communicants and Sunday scholars between 1880 and 1906 as compared with the increase of population between 1881 and 1901 in the diocese of St David's is given in the Report (vol. i, p. 20):—

	Population. In- crease or Decrease 1881-1901.	Communicants. Increase 1880-1905-6.	Sunday Scholars. Increase 1880-1905-6.
Industrial area. . . . .	+ 54,165	+ 15,205	+ 12,156
Urban area . . . . .	+ 5,073	+ 7,616	+ 3,147
Rural . . . . .	- 31,540	+ 10,781	+ 3,781
	+ 27,698	+ 33,602	+ 19,084

The most striking feature of this table is the progress of the Church in country parishes with a decreasing population, a feature which shows that it is not true to say that the progress of the Church in Wales is confined to towns and populous parishes. In Cardiganshire the population decreased from 70,270 in 1881 to 60,240 in 1901; but between 1880 and 1905 the Church communicants increased from 6008 to 9189, and Sunday-school scholars from 5340 to 6796. As Cardiganshire stands next to Merionethshire among the Welsh-speaking counties of Wales, these figures show that it is not true to say that the progress of the Church is confined to the English-speaking parts of Wales.

The progress of the Church in Wales has been maintained during the five years following the statistical year of the Commission. The figures for the four Welsh dioceses show progress in Easter communicants from

\* Ib. p. 67.

† Ib. vol. v, pp. 220, 221.

134,234 in 1906 to 152,654 in 1911, in Sunday-school scholars from 178,688 in 1906 to 197,129 in 1910, and in confirmations from 23,209 in the two years 1906-7 to 25,864 in 1910-11. The figures given fully confirm the statements made in the House of Commons by Mr Gladstone in 1891 and by Mr Asquith in 1909. Mr Gladstone, who lived in Wales, said, 'Undoubtedly the Established Church in Wales is an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and I hope very distinctly a rising Church, from elevation to elevation.' Mr Asquith said, 'Everybody knows that during the last seventy years, at any rate, in the Church in England and Wales there has been opened a new chapter, a new beneficent and fruitful chapter, in their history. She has learnt, alas, too late, the lessons of the past. She now by every means which an enlightened ecclesiastical statesmanship, and a strong spiritual devotion to the best needs of the Welsh people could dictate, is overtaking, or endeavouring to overtake, the arrears of the past.' It cannot equitably be said that it is 'too late' to allow the Church in Wales to go on in peace with the good work it is admittedly doing in faithful discharge of the sacred trust attached to its endowments, when it is remembered that the greater part of the modern augmentation of its parochial endowments (which are even now insufficient) took place during the last seventy years through the Ecclesiastical Commissioners and Queen Anne's Bounty. The poverty of the diocese of St David's at the beginning of the eighteenth century was deplorable. The Memorandum laid before the Commission by the late Archdeacon W. L. Bevan (vol. v., p. 222) shows that out of 308 livings in that diocese at the beginning of the eighteenth century the income of 110 was certified to Queen Anne's Bounty to average only 6*l.* 2*s.* a year.

A comparison between Church and Nonconformist figures in Wales is unnecessary to prove the unrighteousness of the Government's proposals to secularise Welsh Church endowments. The sole question of equity is whether the Church in Wales is doing its work up to the average standard of activity for the whole Church in England and Wales, or not. Nonconformist figures in Wales have, however, a bearing upon the piecemeal disestablishment proposed by the Government. It is satisfactory to



find that the majority of the Commission in their Report say, 'We think from the evidence adduced before us that the people of Wales show a marked tendency to avail themselves of the provision made by the Churches of all denominations for their spiritual welfare.' This broad fact is an argument against singling out Wales, with the marked religious traditions of its long history, for priority in the abandonment of a national recognition of religion which ought to weigh with those earnest men who sorrowfully see in the growing indifference of the age the strongest reason for disestablishment. From this point of view the relative strength of Nonconformity in Wales as compared with the relative strength of indifference in England is no special argument for Welsh Disestablishment.

The case from a religious standpoint against separate Welsh Disestablishment is strengthened by the large area of Christian truth which is common ground to Churchmen and Nonconformists in Wales. Bishop Thirlwall in 1868 said that the difference between Church and Nonconformity in Wales as compared with the difference between the Church of Ireland and Roman Catholics 'is as a crevice caused by the summer heat to a chasm opened into the depths of a rock by an earthquake.'\* His statement is even more true to-day. The summary of the evidence of Nonconformist witnesses before the Commission about the religious position of Nonconformists in Wales at the present time, given by Archdeacon Evans and Lord Hugh Cecil in their Memorandum (pp. 104-125), shows that Nonconformity in Wales is in a state of profound transition. The distinctive denominational characteristics of a former age have mostly disappeared, and the present position is broadly that known as undenominationalism. According to the Memorandum,

'Though the Nonconformist churches in Wales, in view of this growing indifference and unsettlement, may, on account of their departure from their original doctrinal standards and consequent indefiniteness of doctrine, be in some danger of drifting, as is illustrated by the history of the old Calvinistic Presbyterians of Wales, yet it is clear from the

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\* 'Guardian,' February 13, 1895.

evidence that, at the present time, the undenominationalism of the Nonconformist churches in Wales, if indefinite, is in substance in accord with the universal creeds of Christendom, which serve as the anchor of the doctrinal system of the Church of England.\*

The report of the Commission shows that it is untrue to say that the Welsh are a nation of Nonconformists. The number of Church adherents and Nonconformist adherents in Wales can only be ascertained by a parliamentary religious census. In Ireland a parliamentary religious census has been taken every decade since 1861; but in Wales the advocates of Welsh Disestablishment have persistently resisted the demand of Churchmen for a parliamentary religious census in Wales. The figures for Nonconformist adherents laid before the Royal Commission by the Welsh Nonconformist County Evidence Committee which are published in volume VI were found to be 'of little or no use for statistics.' No Welsh Nonconformist denomination except the Calvinistic Methodist gives official figures showing the number of adherents in the Year Books. Since the Calvinistic Methodists, however, annually give in their Year Book figures for adherents including all members and all children of all ages from the year 1867, and since, according to the evidence given before the Commission, the proportion between adherents and members is very much the same in all Welsh Nonconformist denominations, a computation of adherents in proportion to members of the other Nonconformist denominations may be made from the official figures of the Calvinistic Methodists. The total number of all the adherents of the four larger Welsh Nonconformist denominations in Wales was thus computed by Archdeacon Evans and Lord Hugh Cecil to be 1,032,254. A similar computation estimates the adherents of the smaller Nonconformist denominations in Wales at 55,437, bringing the total number of Nonconformist adherents in Wales in 1905 up to 1,087,691. The Calvinistic Methodist Year Book shows a decrease of 2947 in the number of adherents of this denomination in Wales between 1905 (the Commission's statistical year) and 1910. As the Baptists and Congregationalists show a larger

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\* Report, vol. i, p. 113, 114.

decrease of membership than the Calvinistic Methodists during these five years, there must have been a considerable reduction in the total number of Nonconformist adherents in Wales between 1905 and 1910. The total population of Wales in 1911 was 2,421,218; and it follows that Nonconformist adherents in Wales are less than 45 per cent. of the population at the present time.

The number of Roman Catholics, including children, in Wales was returned to the Commission at 64,800, or 2·67 per cent. of the population at the present time. These figures show that 52 per cent. of the population are not to be reckoned in any sense as Nonconformists or Roman Catholics. The Royal Commission failed to ascertain the number of those who do not avail themselves at all of any religious ministrations. Mr Ellis Griffith, M.P., estimates that 20 per cent. of the population of Wales owe no allegiance to church or chapel. If his estimate is right, it would leave 32 per cent. of the population as adherents of the Church. The proportion of infant baptisms in church to the total number of births in Wales for the eleven years 1900 to 1910 inclusive is 32·2 per cent. The figures for infant baptisms confirm the inference drawn from the computation of Nonconformist adherents that Church adherents in Wales are about one-third of the population, and stand to the total number of Nonconformist adherents above the proportion of two to three, exceeding the number of adherents of the Calvinistic Methodists, Congregationalists and Wesleyans in Wales taken together.

The proportion of members and Sunday-school scholars to adherents is higher among Nonconformists than it is in the Church on account of the difference between Nonconformist and Church systems of religious work. A Nonconformist member is a person who, like a confirmed Churchman, is qualified to be a communicant.

‘There is evidence that there is a wide divergence in respect of the minimum regularity of attendance required on the part of the Nonconformist members in order to retain their names on the chapel rolls. This divergence ranges from attendance at Holy Communion once in three months, which is the severe local rule of some Congregationalist and Baptist churches, down to an attendance of ten times in the year, and indeed even of only twice in the year, at ordinary

Sunday services (not Holy Communion), according to the Denbighshire County witness (Calvinistic Methodist).\*

No return of confirmed Churchmen was made to the Commission. The return made was a return of persons known to have actually communicated during the year, for which figures were given; and the figures were vouched for by the name and address of each communicant. The Nonconformists in their organisation lay more stress than the Church upon Sunday-schools. The numerical preponderance of the Church over any single Nonconformist denomination was greater in 1910, according to the denominational Year Books, than it was in the statistical year of the Royal Commission, as is shown in the tables given below. No figures for total number of Church communicants in Wales for 1910 are available, but the increase in the total number of communicants may be taken to be at least not below 18,420, which is the increase in the number of Easter communicants in the four Welsh dioceses during the last five years for which figures are given. There is a slight discrepancy between Nonconformist figures for members in 1905 which appear in the Report of the Commission and the Year Books respectively. In the case of Sunday-school scholars the fairest comparison lies between the Year Book figures for 1906 and 1910, as there is some confusion about the inclusion of teachers in some cases in the figures given in the Report. The two following tables give the figures.

COMMUNICANTS AND MEMBERS.

Denominations.	1905.		1910.
	Commission figures.	Year Book figures.	
Church of England . . . .	193,081	..	211,501
Baptists . . . . .	143,835	143,584	126,863
Calvinistic Methodists . . .	170,617	170,444	165,115
Congregationalists . . . .	175,147	174,313	163,802
Wesleyans . . . . .	40,811	40,957	39,921

\* Report, vol. i, pp. 245, 246.

## SUNDAY-SCHOOL SCHOLARS.

Denominations.	1906.	1910.
Church of England (four Welsh Dioceses) .	178,688	197,129
Baptists .	142,335	140,493
Calvinistic Methodists (deducting the four)	175,839	170,036
Presbyteries in England) . . . . .		
Congregationalists . . . . .	161,678	148,385

There is a striking statistical contrast between Wales at the present time and Ireland at the time of Irish Disestablishment. The adherents of the Church in Ireland were 693,357 or 11·9 per cent. of the population in 1861 and 667,998 or 12·3 per cent. of the population in 1871 as compared with the Roman Catholics, who were 4,505,265 or 77·6 per cent. of the population in 1861 and 4,150,867 or 76·6 per cent. of the population in 1871. The number of adherents of the Calvinistic Methodists, the largest Nonconformist denomination in Wales at the present time, was 310,345 at the end of 1910, i.e. 12·8 per cent. of the population, or about two-fifths of the number of Church adherents. In Ireland the number of Church adherents was unevenly distributed among the four Provinces, being in 1861 5·3 per cent. of the population in Munster and 4·4 per cent. in Connaught. In Wales, on the other hand, the Church communicants (not adherents) are above 9 per cent. of the population in ten counties and do not fall below 6 per cent. in any county. The progress of the Church in Ireland in adherents since Irish Disestablishment from 11·9 per cent. of the population in 1861 to 12·3 per cent. in 1871 and to 13·1 per cent. in 1911 shows the devotion and courage with which Irish Churchmen have striven to repair the injury done by Disestablishment; but a comparison with the figures of progress for the Welsh Dioceses given above shows that the progress of the Church in Ireland since 1871 has been not because of but in spite of Irish Disestablishment.

The Commissioners put on record the religious benefits derived by the Welsh dioceses from their present constitutional position in the Church of England:

‘Each of the four Welsh Dioceses is a constituent unit of the Province of Canterbury and has in all respects the same

status in the Province as an English Diocese. The four Welsh Bishops are members of the Upper House of Convocation of Canterbury and are entitled, according to their seniority, to seats in the House of Lords. In the Lower House of Convocation each diocese is represented by the Dean and one Proctor for the Cathedral Chapter, and by the Archdeacons and two Proctors for the parochial incumbents. In the organisation of the Church of England each diocese, whether in Wales or in England, has a large measure of autonomy, subject to an appeal to the Archbishop's Court in all judicial matters and to the consent of the Archbishop in certain specified matters of administration, such as the holding of benefices in plurality. . . . Under this co-ordination of central guidance and diocesan autonomy, the Welsh Dioceses have the guidance of the whole Church in religious problems of a general character, while they are free to a large extent to adapt themselves to local conditions.' (Report, vol. i, p. 27.)

The Nonconformist evidence shows that in the case of Nonconformists, as in the case of the Church in Wales, 'religious problems of a general character' arising from the growing unsettlement of modern thought and the growing complexity of modern life, shared by Wales with England, rather than religious problems peculiar to Wales alone, are the prominent religious problems of Wales to-day. The evidence shows that Welsh Nonconformist denominations recognise in their own organisation the value for Wales of unity with England.

'There is no Nonconformist denomination in Wales which is confined to Wales, and there is no definite boundary line between Wales and England in Nonconformist organisations. There is no separate National Free Church Council for Wales, and Welsh Nonconformist churches belong to the National Free Church Council of England and Wales. Three of the four larger denominations in Wales, i.e. the Wesleyans, the Congregationalists and the Baptists, are part of denominations common to England and Wales which originated not in Wales but in England' (ib. p. 88).

Each of these three denominations has the great majority of its members in England, while even the Calvinistic Methodists have 117 churches and 18,679 members in England. The areas of seven Calvinistic Methodist Monthly Meetings or Presbyteries are situated partly in England and partly in Wales. A Welsh Congregational

minister said before the Commission that he did not think that the union of his denomination in England and Wales 'made Welsh Congregationalists less Welsh than they would have been without this union.' A Wesleyan witness was very clear that the separation of Welsh Wesleyan Methodists from the British Annual Wesleyan Conference 'would be injurious to the Welsh Methodists. . . . They get such great help from English Methodists that I think it would be disastrous.' At the Annual Conference of the officers of the four Welsh Federations of the National Free Church Council of England and Wales held at Llandrindod on May 18, 1909, a proposal in favour of dismembering the National Free Church Council of England and Wales in order to constitute a separate National Free Church Council for Wales, which had been promoted in the interests of Welsh political nationalism, was rejected. The General Secretary of the Free Church Council said on that occasion :

'What they had to do was to approach the question as statesmen, and ask, Will it be for the good of the movement in Wales to have a distinct and separate council? Speaking generally, he was bound to say that he was of the opinion that Wales had overdone the idea of having a separate entity for every organisation. Nothing but good could come of the uniting of England and Wales in one solid force. Many a time, if they had not fought their battles together, the battles would have been lost. Wales often needed English backing and England Welsh backing. He had expressed this view to distinguished Welsh leaders, and they agreed with him that this advocacy for a separate entity, so far as Wales was concerned, needed reconsideration. What was wanted was a great, solid, unmistakeable force for both England and Wales.' ('South Wales Daily News,' May 19, 1909.)

The facts ascertained by the Royal Commission on the Church in Wales do not justify the Government's Welsh Disestablishment Bill, which is shown by Mr McKenna's speech to be, like the three previous Bills, a Bill of piecemeal disestablishment, a Bill of Church dismemberment, and a Bill for the secularisation of religious endowments. For a discussion of the principles of equity and statesmanship violated by such a Bill we refer to the fifth edition of the late Earl Selborne's 'Defence of the Church of England,' Bishop Welldon's lectures on Disestablishment



and Disendowment, and Bishop Creighton's 'The Church and the Nation.' In the following passage (*op. cit.*, pp. 36, 37) Bishop Creighton states the real issue raised by the Welsh Disestablishment Bill :

'It is obvious that the Disestablishment of the Church in Wales must carry with it the whole question of the existence of a National Church. It is useless to say that the Church of England is not menaced, that it stands upon a different footing, and is not affected by complications which arise from differences of race and language. If the Church in Wales is disestablished, there is no longer any basis of principle left; the existence of a National Church is left as a matter to be settled by local convenience. An agitation in any group of counties might lead to a similar demand in other parts of England; and if the question was skilfully combined with other points of immediate political interest, its importance might be obscured.

'We have a right to demand that so large a question should not be approached piecemeal, and should not be discussed in relation to merely local and temporary conditions. There is no ground on which the Church in Wales can be separated from the rest of the English Church. It has had no separate history since the eighth century. Long before Wales was politically united with England it was united ecclesiastically. There has been no breach in the continuity of that connexion. The attempt to represent the Church in Wales as "an alien Church," imposed upon a reluctant people, has no warrant in the facts of history.'

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#### CORRIGENDA.

On p. 3 of this volume, l. 7 from foot, for 'Mississippi' read 'South Carolina.'

By an oversight, the map to illustrate the article on 'Fiji as a Crown Colony' (No. 430, Art. 3) gave the Caroline Islands to Spain. They have been German since 1899.

## INDEX

TO THE

TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTEENTH VOLUME OF THE  
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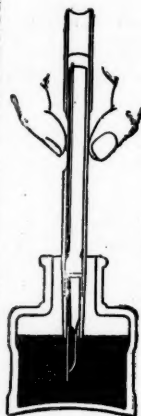
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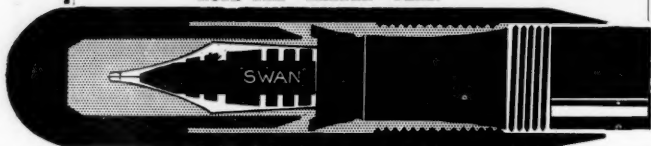
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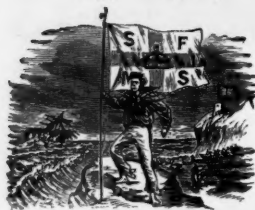
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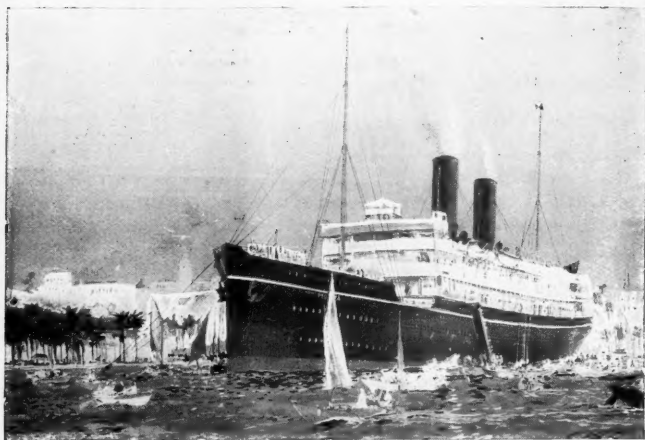
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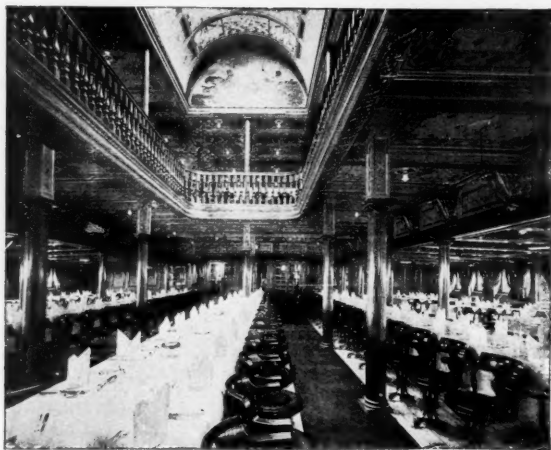
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